This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

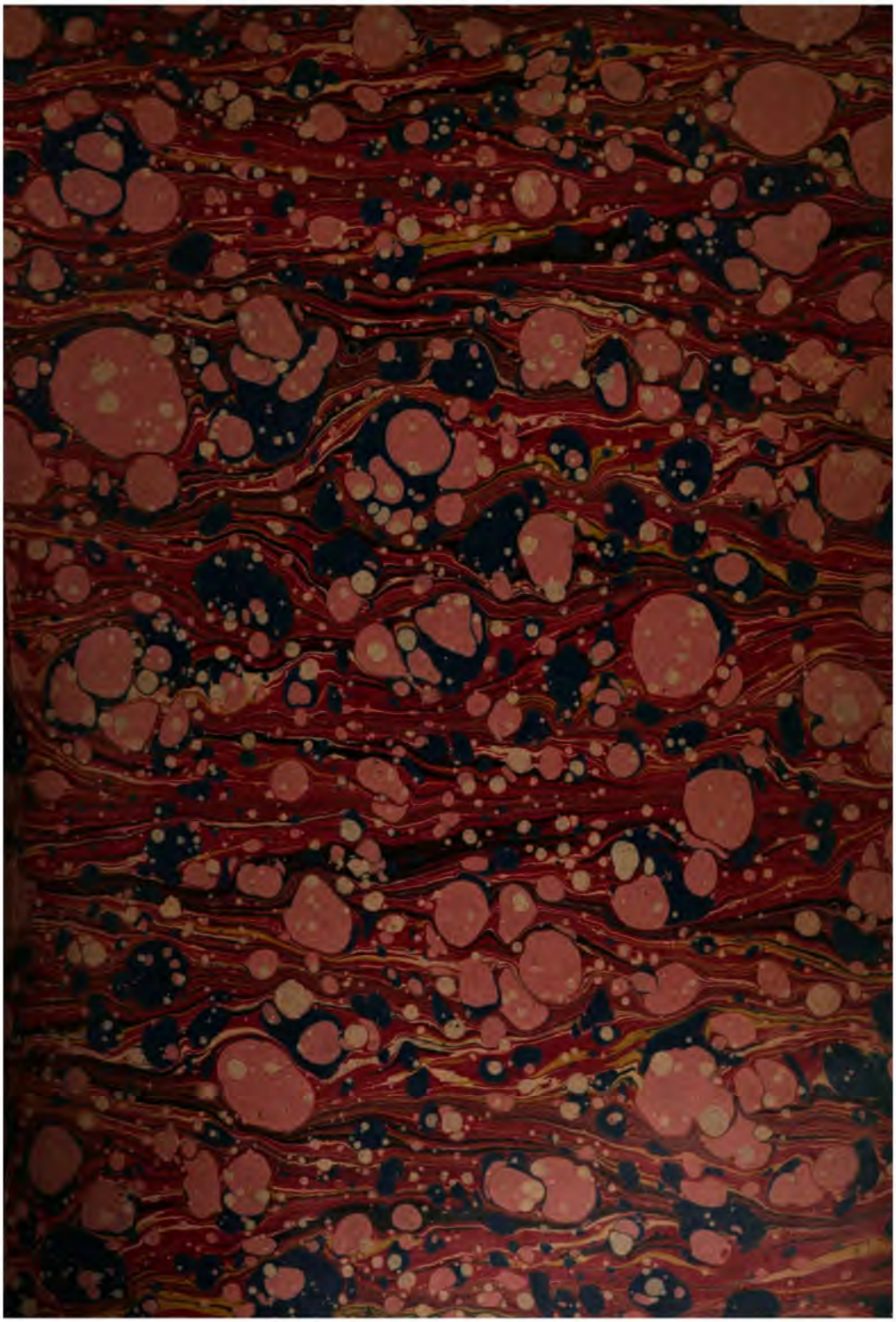
SEVEN DAYS' BOOK.

P2813

Bd. Jan. 1880.

The Gift of
Samuel A. Green, M.D.
of Boston.
(H.U. 1851.)

13 Oct. 1877.



THE

NATIONAL

QUARTERLY REVIEW,

(FOUNDED BY EDWARD I. SEARS, LL.D.)

EDITED BY

DAVID A. GORTON, M. D.

Pulchrum est bene facere reipublicæ, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est.

VOL. XXXV. ~~No. LXIX, OF FIRST SERIES.~~

VOL. I. No. 1, OF SECOND SERIES.—JULY 1877.

NEW YORK:

DAVID A. GORTON & CO., PUBLISHERS.

1877.

P281.3

1877, Oct. 13.
Gift of
Saml A. Green, M.D.
of Boston.
(N. A. 1851.)
(Vol. XXXV. No. 69, 70.)

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1877, by
DAVID A. GORTON & CO.,
in the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington.

PREFATORY NOTE.

In beginning a new series of the National Quarterly Review, of which the present is the initial number, the Editor has made many changes in the general make-up of the work which he hopes will be regarded as substantial improvements. He begs to say, further, that in changing the date of the numbers to accord more nearly with the *date of issue*, he has no intention of changing the latter. While in future the numbers of the *Review* will be dated July, October, January and April, respectively, each issue will appear the last week of the month preceding its date.

CONTENTS OF No. I.

ART.		PAGE.
I.	The See of Rome and Civil Allegiance	1
1.	*The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance—A Political Expostulation.* By the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.	
2.	*A Letter addressed to His Grace the Duke of Norfolk on occasion of Mr. Gladstone's Recent Expostulation.* By John Henry Newman, D. D.	
3.	*Vaticanism. An answer to Reproofs and Replies.* By the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.	
4.	*Postscript to a Letter addressed to His Grace the Duke of Norfolk.* By John Henry Newman, D. D.	
5.	*Queen Mary.* A Drama. By Alfred Tennyson.	
II.	Natural and Supernatural	55
1.	*Vie de Jésus.* Par Ernest Renan.	
2.	*Literature and Dogma.* By Matthew Arnold.	
3.	*Three Essays on Religion.* By John Stuart Mill.	
4.	*Essays Philosophical and Theological.* By James Marteneau.	
5.	*Illustrations of the Influence of the Mind upon the Body.* By Daniel Hack Tuke, M. D., M. R. C. P.	

III—GERMAN NOVELS AND NOVELISTS..... 83

1. *Problematische Naturen;* 3 Bde. *Durch Nacht Zum Licht;* 2 Bde. *Was die Schwalbe sang;* 2 Bde. VON FRIEDRICH SPIELHAGEN.
2. *Auf der Höhe;* 2. Bde. *Barfüssele.* VON BERTHOLD AUERBACH.
3. *Das Haideprinzesschen.* VON E. MARLITT.
4. *Um Scepter und Krone.* VON GREGOR SUMARROW.
5. *Ein Arzt der Seele;* 3 Bde. VON WILHELMINE VON HILLERN.
6. *Ein Held der Feder; Veneta.* VON ERNST WERNER.

IV.—THE SCLAVONIC RACES OF EUROPE..... 105

1. *De Originibus Slavicis.* JOANNIS CHRISTOPHERI DE JORDAN.
2. *Les Slaves. Cours professé au Collège de France.* Par ADAM MIEKIÈWICZ.
3. *Les Slaves de Turquie, Serbes, Monténégrins, Bosniagues, Albanais et Bulgares; leurs ressources, leurs tendances et leurs progrès politiques.* Par CRISPIN ROBERT.
4. *The Sclavonic Provinces South of the Danube; A sketch of their history and present state in relation to the Ottoman Porte.* By WILLIAM FORSYTH, L. C., Q. L. D., M. P.
5. *Slowanske Starotzitnosti. Sepsal.* Pawel Josef Safarik, W. Praze. (Sclavonian Antiquities, compiled by PAUL JOSEPH SAFARIK.)

V.—PAST AND PRESENT OF LIFE INSURANCE..... 135

1. *Insurance Guide and Hand-Book, or Fire, Life, Marine, Tontine and Casualty Insurance.* By CORNELIUS WALFORD.
2. *Annals of Life-insurance.* By J. FRANCIS.
3. *Commentaries on American Law.* By JAMES KENT.
4. *Reports of Receivers of Defunct Insurance Companies.*
5. *Reports of Testimony before the Insurance Commissioners.*

VI.—THE TRAVAIL OF DEMOCRACY..... 159

1. *Manual of Political Ethics.* By FRANCIS LIEBER, LL.D. 2d Edition Revised by THEODORE D. WOOLSEY, LL.D.
2. *De la Démocratie en Amérique.* Par ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE.
3. *De l'Esprit des Lois.* Par M. MONTESQUIEU. Œuvres complètes de Montesquieu.

VII. NOTICES AND CRITICISMS..... 179

VIII. SCHOOL NOTES..... 201

IX. LIFE-INSURANCE NOTES..... 208

THE

NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW.

☞ *As the present Number of the NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW is the first of a new series, the publishers take the liberty of sending it to many non-subscribers who, it is believed, will be interested in the work. While they would not trouble any person to whom the Review is thus sent, to return it to them, should he or she not desire to become a subscriber, they would esteem it a favor to be notified of the fact by postal card or otherwise at his or her convenience.*

Address,

DAVID A. GORTON & CO.,

291 Broadway, New York.

opened, has already created quite a literature of its own, didactic or rhetorical; and the interest it has awakened with the Catholic and Protestant reading public has been enhanced by the contribution which Mr. Tennyson has made to the discussion. The Poet-Laureate has hitherto eschewed the polemics of the period, but has appeared in a new rôle as the author of *Queen Mary*, which in spite of occasional touches of poetic affluence and power is destitute as a whole of the delicacy and

subtlety of insight which crowns the Shakspearian as the unapproachable epoch of dramatic literature. The old English dramatists evoked "high passions and high actions," which move our hearts to the core; while the modern drama, with its graceful movement and shallow propriety, hardly makes an appeal to our deepest feelings. There is, however, one passage in *Queen Mary* in which Tennyson seems to catch the spirit of England's noblest Cardinal in the darkest days of her history. And the words he puts into the mouth of Reginald Pole counsel us to a like moderation in our feverish times:—

> "For ourselves we do protest
> That our commission is to heal, not harm;
> * * * * * * * *
> Nor yet to question things already done;
> These are forgiven—matters of the past—
> And range with jetsam and with offal thrown
> Into the blind sea of forgetfulness."

The civil allegiance of Roman Catholic subjects is no new question in the politico-moral world at home or abroad. Always popular with the masses, it acts as an excellent corrective in seasons of political or religious stagnation. Like the periodical fits of morality which seize the British public every six or seven years, according to Macaulay's computation, and which spend their cumulative wrath on "some unfortunate man in no respect more depraved than hundreds whose offences have been treated with lenity,"* this old foe in a new face seems to follow in its reappearance some undiscovered law of periodicity. Tales of escaped nuns and apostatising priests have yielded a superabundant stock and drugged the market. They pall on the public taste in spite of our American Exeter Hall proclivities. Our weariness of these thread-bare narratives may challenge the thoroughness of our Protestantism, yet yawn we must over every fresh recital of conventual tyranny or despotic priest-craft. In our apathetic repose, as our neighboring zealot, whose soul is haunted with dreams of artfully laid Popish plots, would call it, we amuse ourselves with

---

* *Review of Moore's Life of Byron*, Vol. I, p. 324.—Am. Ed.

an occasional reading of the inimitable Plymley letters. Under the caustic irony of shrewd and irreverent old Sydney Smith, who could pierce, if ever man could, the bigotry of the average John Bull of Canning and Percival's day, we take shelter, when the period of Exeter Hall Popery returns to tease our usual lethargy. "As for the enormous wax candles, superstitious mummeries and painted jackets of the Catholic priests," writes Peter Plymley to his brother Abraham, "I fear them not. Tell me that the world will return again under the influence of the small pox; that Lord Castlereagh will hereafter oppose the power of the Court; that Lord Howick and Mr. Grattan will do each of them a mean and dishonorable action; that anybody who has heard Lord Redesdale speak once will knowingly and willingly hear him again; that Lord Eldon has assented to the fact of two and two making four, without shedding tears, or expressing the smallest doubt or scruple; tell me any other thing absurd or incredible, but for love of common sense, let me hear no more of the danger to be apprehended from the general diffusion of Popery. It is too absurd to be reasoned upon; every man feels it is nonsense when he hears it stated, and so does every man while he is stating it."

Aside from the popularity of the anti-Popery cry, the discussion which Mr. Gladstone's brochures have called forth, gains much of its wide-spread prominence in the world of thought from the intellectual eminence of the British Statesman and of his leading opponent, John Henry Newman. No two names, for one-quarter of a century have exercised a greater influence in their respective spheres. They are the representatives in Church and State of all that is honorable, of all that is earnest, of all that is profound. For Dr. Newman there is an especially tender regard among the cultured minds of the two continents. Its expression is confined to no school of thought or of religious belief. Mr. Matthew Arnold* can be as generous in his praise as Mr. Gladstone. In exami-

*Essays in Criticism. The Literary Influences of Academies, p. 56.—Eng. Ed.

ning the question of the civil allegiance of Roman Catholics in the light derived both from Ultramontane and Gallican schools, we will place no especial emphasis on the dogma of the Infallibility of the Pope. It seems to us only pertinent as far as its definition affects the oath of Irish Bishops and the pledge given to the British government by English and Irish Roman Catholics.* From this point of view the Court of Rome has assumed a position of fearful irreconcilability with that taken by the hierarchy in Ireland. To dislodge a lurking suspicion in many minds that the Roman Curia was not wholly disingenuous in allowing the patriotic statements of a distinguished Irish prelate to remain uncontradicted on a question supposed to affect England's polity in regard to the disabilities of her Roman Catholic subjects, will prove a task not easy of accomplishment by the most dexterous of intellectual acrobats. There are those who have read the controversy with much apparent dispassion, and who are disposed to yield to Dr. Newman's reply to Mr. Gladstone the impartiality of judgment, which his frankness and urbanity always beget, yet above and beyond his words and the words of other defenders of the Vatican Decrees, there still appears on the part of the then Roman Curia an ambiguity of policy toward the British government difficult of explanation in the light of subsequent events, which prepared Roman Catholic Christendom for the definitions imposed by the late Council. Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis with a candor likewise characteristic of his venerable brother, the late Archbishop of Baltimore, foresaw this unhappy aspect of the question of Papal Infallibility when coup-

* "A thousand opportunities of doing good in Irish affairs have been lost, from our having no avowed and dignified agent at the Court of Rome. If it depended upon me, I would send the Duke of Devonshire there to-morrow, with nine chaplains and several tons of Protestant Theology. I have no love of Popery, but the Pope is at all events better than the Idol of Juggernaut whose chaplains I believe we pay, and whose chariot I dare say is made in Long-Acre. We pay £10,000 a year to one ambassador at Constantinople, and are startled with the idea of communicating diplomatically with Rome, deeming the Sultan a better Christian than the Pope!"—*Sydney Smith's Wit and Wisdom*, p. 371.

led with the pledge given to the English government, and called to it the attention of the Irish Episcopacy in a proposed address for the Council.* Even in 1826, so temperate a prelate as Archbishop Magee of the English Church was unable to reconcile to himself the oath of a Roman Catholic Bishop with the civil allegiance due to a Protestant sovereign.† It is, however, of the main point in the issue of the controversy that we propose to speak. It shall be our endeavor, in the first place, to trace the origin of the temporal power of the See of Rome; secondly, its subsequent development into the deposing power of the Pope and the recognition of that power by the great theologians; and lastly, to ascertain the views held by English speaking Roman Catholics on the question of civil allegiance at the present day.

"In dealing with alien beliefs our endeavor must be," says a profound thinker of our own age, "not simply to refrain from injustice of word or deed, but also to do justice by an open recognition of positive worth. We must qualify our disagreement with as much as may be of sympathy." ‡ Our aim is not controversial. The pages of our own history and that of the mother country are too full of the patriotism and loyalty of Roman Catholics to admit of serious doubt in earnest and intelligent minds. It is no small part in the mad-cap

*"Quomodo fides sic gubernio Anglicano data conciliari possit cum definitione papalis infallibilitatis * * * * ipsi viderint qui ex Episcopis Hiberniensibus, sicut ego ipse, illud juramentum præstiterint." *Vaticanism*, p. 36.

†"I am not able to explain to myself how the heads of the Roman Catholic Church, under a Protestant King, can consistently preserve the oath of allegiance to the Sovereign. I find myself unable to reconcile the most solemn oath that is taken upon the appointment of a Roman Catholic Bishop, with his allegiance to his Sovereign. It appears to me, that is an obligation as deep as that which can grow out of the feeling of Christianity at war with the civil obligation. I find in this oath no reservation or circumscription whatsoever."—*Digest of Evidence on Ireland*, 1826, p. 12.

Dr. O'Conner viewed it in the same light. "How can the Bishop's oath," he inquires, "be reconciled with the oath of civil allegiance, which excludes all indirect temporal of the Pope in this realm?"—*Columbanus*, iii: 160.

‡ Herbert Spencer. *First Principles*, p. 122.—Am. Ed.

game of American politics to work upon the predominant religious impulse, and if that impulse happen to be awakened with a dread of the encroachments of Rome, the deeds of Roman Catholic ancestors are too prone to be forgotten in the heat of controversy, or of zeal for the fancied safety of our institutions and our homes. Exhibitions of this kind of political warfare are not unknown to our annals, and the page which records these lamentable episodes ought also to record the large share, we say it with shame, that the Protestant clergy have contributed towards the formation of that history. We discern now in no obscure quarters, the skeleton of this old feud of religious hate revivifying. At the outset, therefore, we disclaim, in the remarks which we shall make, any disposition to supply ammunition to this forlorn hope of the anti-Roman legions. We desire, however, to suggest in connection with the Ultramontane view of the papal prerogative, the difficulty which must come to the mind of every thinking man of Protestant Christendom, who reads both sides of this controversy, no matter with what admiration he may study the extraordinary character and history of the Church of Rome. For our guidance in this inquiry we would supplement that tolerant sentiment of Herbert Spencer, just quoted, with the pacific language of Burke, called forth at a period when theological polemics embittered civil as well as ecclesiastical legislation: "Old religious factions are volcanoes burned out; on the lava and ashes and squalid scorial of old eruptions grow the peaceful olive, the cheering vine, and the sustaining corn; such was the first, such the second condition of Vesuvius. But when a new fire bursts out, a face of desolation comes on, not to be rectified in ages."

The temporal sovereignty of the Pope, although decided by the irresistible logic of recent events, embraces in a historical point of view a large part of the history of Christianity. Catholic and Protestant alike have treated it with an intellectual bias derived from opposing systems. With the one, in some of its not clearly defined ramifications, it plays a prominent part in the mission of St. Peter and his successors in the See of Rome. With the other, the prerogative out of which

it grew is identified with schisms and revolts which have rent Christendom, bathed the earth in blood, and dethroned kings and popes. To the Protestant, who looks at it chiefly in a political way, it is the ugly nightmare of the ages, which disturbs the peace of the world, and by its own dead weight impedes the full secular and religious enfranchisement of the race. To the Catholic, with whom it is always associated with the birth of his religion, it partakes of the brightness of the Shekinah of the elder covenant, illuminating the throne of Christ's earthly Vicar with the light of His unerring truth.* Whence originates this prerogative which teases the diplomat, exasperates the politician, and maddens the zealot, about which the world is so divided, and about which it can come to no definite understanding?

The rise and growth of the temporality of the Roman Pontiff and the particular events which gave to it its vital element of expansion, present a problem which has perplexed the investigation of the antiquary, the historian and the theologian. Gibbon seems to imply that the kingly prerogative, strictly speaking, did not exist till the time of Martin V., A. D. 1417–1431, who exercised the royal right of coining money.† Under his pontificate began the series of papal medals bearing his image, marking, not only the era of the re-uniting of the Church, but also of the re-translating of the Holy See to the banks of the Tiber, after a dreary reign of seventy years at Avignon:—seventy melancholy years whose tragic story finds no parallel in the annals of the papacy! Ranke attributes all the shameless deeds in the warlike career of Julius II—a career

* Dr. Brownson says: "All great heresies which have prevailed in modern times began by disregarding the Papacy, or by attempting to deprive the Holy See of the affection due to it, or some of its prerogatives; and we ought, whenever we meet with a disposition to restrict the Papal power, whether in favor of the Episcopacy or the Presbytery, the secular authority or the brotherhood, to suspect it of an heretical tendency.—*Quart. Rev.* "*Luther and the Reformation.*" Vol. III, p. 79.

† *Gibbon's Hist. of Rome*, Vol. VI, p. 503.—Am. Ed. Speaking of the Popes, he says: "After their return from Avignon, the keys of St. Peter were guarded by the sword of St. Paul." p. 510.

sanctioned, perhaps, by the turbulent spirit of the times in which he lived, but, certainly in all ages, out of harmony with the clemency of the Apostolic office—to an absorbing desire for the domination of the pontifical See. "Other popes," says he, "labored to procure principalities for their sons and nephews; it was the ambition of Julius to extend the dominions of the Church. He must, therefore, be regarded as the founder of the papal States."* A large number of writers, among whom are the names of DeMaistre, Thomassin, Grævius, Nicholas, Alamanni, and Cenni, trace the beginning of the temporal sovereignty to the Iconoclastic controversy which arose under Leo the Isaurian, A. D. 716–741; while the more generally received opinion, which ascribes it to the grants made to the patrimony of St. Peter by Pepin, and renewed by his son and successor, Charlemagne, has its advocates in Bossuet, DeMarca, Labeau, Natalis, Alexander, and Bernardi. Roman Catholic writers of still another school descend into the Catacombs to find in subterranean Rome—*Roma Sotterranea*—peopled by the outlaws whom persecution had driven beneath the surface of the earth, a new kingdom of which St. Peter's successor was the spiritual and temporal head.

In the eighth century, when Leo Isaurius attempted the removal of images from the churches, he aroused an opposition as wide spread as Christendom itself. At Constantinople he awakened an angry contest with its aged Patriarch Germanus, whom he finally deposed, as a penalty of disobedience, in not yielding to the royal mandate. In Gregory II, then occupying the Apostolic Chair, he found a less tractable personage than the Byzantine ecclesiastic. The Pope sent letters of remonstrance. The decrees of the Emperor were pronounced heretical and treated with contempt. Sentence of excommunication was hurled against the pertinacious Leo.† A revolt of

---

* *History of the Popes.* Vol. I, p. 40.—Bohn's Ed. "Il papa vol esser il dominus et maistro del jocho del mundo," was said of Julius by a Venetian contemporary.—*Ranke*, Vol. I, p. 41.

† As Leo's excommunication is with some a matter of dispute, we subjoin our authority. In the Life of Gregory II, *in Muratori, Remum Italica-*

his Italian subjects followed, and Gregory II became the emancipator of Italy in establishing the germinant principle of independence, which under his successors finally wrought the complete overthrow of Eastern domination. The late Dean Milman characterizes Gregory's as a very ordinary mind.*

This estimate of the pontiff's mental qualities is wholly derived from his letters, which are one-sided tests when divorced from the intrepid action which marked his course in a new position environed by difficulty and danger. In a weak and vacillating age Gregory's figure stands out in a boldness of historic outline which dwarfs contemporaries into the dead level of mediocrity. His inflexibility of aim and of conduct is singularly imposing. In his person is represented the great historic Latin Church. To its supremacy the greater part of the Christian world yields obedience. With reverence for his spiritual authority is united the gratitude of subjects for deliverance from Byzantine rule. Moderation poised with courage marks the grandeur of Gregory's character. It provokes the respect of powerful enemies, retains the homage of friends, and holds in check the wavering of the indifferent. Secure in his position at home, Gregory is not unconscious of the dangers which the incursions of the Lombards foreshadow from abroad. Liutprand, their king, is met by the Pontiff at the gate of the Vatican, and overawed by the voice of the messenger of peace. At the tomb of the Apostle the barbarian king lays down the bloody emblems of war, and kneels in the church of St. Peter to offer his devotions to heaven. Gregory II died A. D. 731, and was succeeded by Gregory III. The Lombards still menaced the patrimony of the Church, and in his helplessness, the Pope turned for aid to the intrepid Charles Martel,

---

rum Scriptores, Vol. III, part ii, p. 67, the fact is clearly stated:—"Item quod cum Leo Imperator Imagines Christi, et Beatæ Virginis Mariæ, et aliorum Sanctorum, quas in civitate Constantinopolitana invenire potuit, ipse igne cremari jussisset, et ob monitus se emendare noluisset, ideo ipse Gregorius, tamquam verum hereticum condemnavit et anathematizavit."—*Ex Amalrico Angerio.*

* *Latin Christianity.* Vol. II, p. 312.—Am. Ed.

who had saved the empire of the Franks from an invasion of the Mahommedans. Negotiations began and were earnestly pressed on the side of the Pontiff, but death brought them to a speedy close. Charles Martel died in October, A. D. 741, and Gregory, the month following.

At the critical moment in the history of Western civilization which followed the death of Charles Martel and of Gregory, an instrument in the hand of Providence appeared in the person of St. Boniface. Trained to high and noble thought, and chastened in soul in the monastic solitudes of the old Benedictine abbey of Exeter, when at length called into active life, the Apostle of Germany went forth with a character of a different mould than that which is usually found in any age amid the august surroundings of nobles and courts. Above the wiles of the diplomatist, and unfurnished with the arts and resources which fortify the schemes of designing men, this single-minded legate of Pope Zacharias aroused in the mind of Pepin, the successor to the hereditary mayorship of the palace of Childeric III, an interest in the fortunes and vicissitudes of the Church. It is asserted by some historians that an agreement was formed between Pepin and the Pope by which the former was secured to protect Zacharias from the power of the Lombards, and the latter was to lend the awful sanction of the pontifical office to the dethronement of Childeric.* Other writers look upon the whole transaction as simply a case of casuistry submitted for the ultimate decision of the supreme spiritual ruler of Christendom.† The words of the

---

* Reversis legatis, objectoque Childerico, qui tunc regium nomen habebat, Franci per consilium legatorum et Zachariæ Pontificis electum Pipinum regem sibi constituunt."—*Ado Archiepis Viennensis.*

"Pipinus, ex consultu B. Zachariæ Papal urbis Romæ, a Bonifacio Archiepiscopo unctus, rex constituitur Francorum."—*Chron. Fontanellens.*

"Zacharias Papa—mandat populo Francorum, ut Pipinus, qui potestate regia utebatur, nominis quoque dignitate frueretur."– *Annales Fuldenses.*

† In the history of the Papacy there is no event about which writers more widely differ than that of the interpretation of the action of Pope Zacharias in the deposition of Childeric. Hallam says that "it is impossible to consider this in any other light than as a point of casuistry laid before

Annals of Eginhard are susceptible of a still wider signification: "Pipinus—per auctoritatem Romani Pontificis ex Prefecto Halatii, rex constitutus." In two campaigns Pepin completely broke the rule of the Lombards, and despoiled them of a fair portion of their territory, the rich Exarchate of Ravenna, which he bestowed on the Pope. The successor of St. Peter became Pope Patricius, and although acknowledging allegiance to the Greek emperor, was in reality an independent temporal prince. The throne of Childeric was vacated, its weak old occupant quietly retired to the seclusion of a monastery, and the Merovingian dynasty forever ended. As sovereign of the Franks, Pepin begins the Carlovingian line. The royal purple is assumed under the shadow of the Church, and the solemn right of consecration is performed at Soissons by

---

the first religious judge in the church," thus opposing Mr. Gladstone who pronounces "the doctrine of the consent of nations as a pure imagination." —*Vaticanism*, p. 52. In a note Hallam admits that "Eginhard says that Pepin was made king *per auctoritatem Romani pontificis*; an ambiguous word, which may rise to a *command*, or sink to *advice* according to the disposition of the interpreter."—*Middle Ages*. Chap vii, p. 273.—Am. Ed. In whatever light one may regard the act of Zacharias and its moral quality, it established, if there did not already exist, a principle of expansion in the power of the Papacy. "The old law of the Germans," says Montalembert, "may yet be found in the theory of royal rights, which recognizes no other legitimate title to power than that which results from the morality and justice of its possessors. We shall see that the theory retains all its force amid the great struggles between the priesthood and the empire, and shall hear, even in the times of Gregory VII, the voice of the bishops and monks apply against the emperors that axiom which the Visigothic code had set forth so energetically: 'Rex eris, si recte facis: si antem non facis, rex non eris.'"—*Monks of the West*. Vol. II, p. 208. Milman says: "The Pope has been accused * * * * * of want of stern principles in countenancing the violation of the great law of hereditary succession, and the rebellious ambition of the Mayor of the Palace, who thus degraded his lawful sovereign and usurped the throne. This is to confound the laws and usages of different ages. Hereditary succession among the Teutonic races had not yet attained that sanctity in which, in later times, it has been invested by supposed religious authority, and by the rational persuasion of its inestimable advantages. In theory it was admitted in the Roman empire; but the perpetual change of dynasty at Constantinople was not calculated to confirm the general reverence for its invisibility."—*Latin Christianity*. Vol. II, p. 410.

the papal legate, the saintly Boniface of the See of Mentz.* A few years later, a subsequent Pope, Stephen II, crosses the the Alps in mid-winter to confront Astolph, king of the Lombards, in his own territory. Failing to obtain from the barbarian monarch the demands which he makes in the name of St. Peter, Stephen pursues his journey as far as the convent of St. Maurice within the Frankish dominion. Pepin is holding his court at the palace of Pontyon on the Perche. His son Charles hereafter known as the Great,† is sent as an especial envoy to conduct Stephen with befitting honors through the kingdom of his sire.‡ Pepin meets the papal visitor some miles distant from the palace. He dismounts from his horse and prostrates himself before the spiritual ruler of Christendom. With his own hands Stephen anoints the king of the Francs, and the menace of an interdict and excommunication defends the recognized authority of Pepin and his successors.‖

At Pepin's death, A. D. 768, the rivalries of his two sons, Carloman and Charlemagne, for a time threatened the overthrow of the splendid monarchy which their father had established on the ruins of the Merovingian sovereignty. The jealousies growing out of a division of the kingdom, or the dissatisfaction incident to the final disposition of Aquitaine, acquired by conquest, portended formidable calamities to the papal power. Crowned as both brothers were on the same day in the capitals of their respective kingdoms, both challenging by parity of claim a like support from the Pope, and an alliance of either with the Lombard king at any moment im-

* *Eginhard, ann.* 749; *Annal Loiselian*, 749; *Annal Fuldenses, ann.* 751; *Eginhard, in Vita Caroli Magni.*

† "The appellation of *Great* has been often bestowed; and sometimes deserved; but *Charlemagne* is the only prince in whose favor the title has been indissolubly blended with the name."—*Gibbon.* Vol. V, p. 44.

‡ Amalricus says: "Cui venienti Pippinus cum magna militia occurrit et ipse statim de suo equo descendit in terram, et postæ per spatium trium milliariorum vice ac modo stratoris, cum magna humilitate et devotione, exstitit in terra postratus."—*Murator. Rer. Script. Ital. Tom.* II.

‖ Tali omnes interdicto et excommunicationis lege constrinxit, ut nunquam de alterius lumbis regem in ævo præsumerent eligere."

minent—here were presented the features of a problem perplexing to the most diplomatic of pontiffs. A solution either way would probably embroil the Roman See in disastrous quarrels and dismember the most powerful monarchy which Europe has seen since the decline of the Roman Empire. The question was adjudicated in a higher court. In the death of the elder brother, Carloman, were set at rest the delicate affairs of state-craft, and Charlemagne became sole king of the empire of Pepin and protector of the prerogatives of the Pope. In the history of the world as in the legends of romance, Charlemagne is the representative name of the centuries. Entering the stage of human action at a great formative epoch, out of which were to be moulded the three essential elements of all civilizations, the political, intellectual, and religious, the second in the line of Carlovingian kings, proved not unworthy of the blood of his iron-souled ancestor, Charles Martel. From the general disruption of the Byzantine and Western empires, and the final destruction of the Lombard kingdom proceeded the renaissance of a civil polity to be fashioned by the penetrating mind of the Great Charles. He was admirably fitted by natural disposition and mental acquirement to direct the destinies of the age. Establishing schools and libraries as the centres from which to quicken the intellectual decadence of his empire, enunciating broad and lasting principles of legislation, shaping and controlling religious controversy, reforming laxity of ecclesiastical discipline, Charlemagne has left on subsequent centuries the traces of a comprehensive and subtle genius. He was fortunate in his age as he was fortunate in his friends. In the one was presented ample scope for the exercise of his skill as a statesman and his prowess as a warrior; among the others he found his match in intellect, in birth, and in public spirit. "Men," says Emerson, "resemble their contemporaries, even more than their progenitors." This is especially true of Charlemagne, whose *alter ego* lived in the great Pontiff, Hadrian I, for whom the emperor cherished a profound respect and sincere attachment.* The old feud be-

* The secretary and biographer of Charlemagne records that at the death of Hadrian, the emperor was profoundly moved, and wept for the dead Pontiff, as for a brother.—*Eginhard*, C. xix.

tween the Holy See and the Lombards was by no means quieted, when Hadrian ascended the papal throne. The question of the Papacy was the great question of the West, and Charlemagne now determined the position of the supreme Pontiff in the modern Romano-Germanic empire—an empire which stood the rude shocks of ten centuries, and fell at last on the field of Austerlitz, in 1805. Scarcely had Hadrian been enthroned when he was forced to seek protection from Desiderius the Lombard king, who had invaded Ravenna, and menaced Rome. From further advance he was deterred by the dread of excommunication. Charlemagne demanded the cession of the towns formerly granted to the Holy See. To enforce their restoration he marched into Italy, A. D. 773, and in the following Spring, proceeded to Rome. He reached the Eternal City at the close of Holy Week, when the sublime mystery of the Passion engaged the thoughts of the Catholic world. At the main entrance of St. Peter, Hadrian awaited the approach of his royal guest, who kissed each step as he ascended to its portals,—"Omnes gradus sigillatim ejusdem sacratissime Beati Petri ecclesiæ desculatus est." *—At the tomb of the Apostles he ratified his own and Pepin's temporal grants to St. Peter:—"Christianissimus Carolus Francorum rex, ascribi jussit per Etherium religiosum ac prudentissimum capellanum et notarium suum, ubi concessit easdem civitates et territoria Beato Petro." †—The Easter festival was kept with more than wonted pomp in the church of St. Maria Maggiore, at whose high altar Hadrian celebrated pontifical mass in the presence of the king. With the fall of Pavia and the capture of Desiderius, Charlemagne brought the Lombard power to an end. Of the subsequent visits to Rome, when further grants were ceded to the temporalities of the Holy See by the king of the Franks and the Lombards, it is hardly necessary to speak. Hadrian died, after a reign of nearly a quarter of a century, on Christmas day, A. D. 795, and five years later Charlemagne again visited Rome. Leo III, now occupied the

* *Anast. in Vita Hadr.*

† *Annast. in Vita Hadr.*

throne. The king was met with an unusual pageant at Nomentum, whither the Pope had gone to welcome him. He was formally received at the door of St. Peter, as on his first visit during the pontificate of Hadrian, and in the same church on the last Christmas feast of the century, Leo III crowned Charlemagne, and the multitude that filled the spacious cathedral signified their approval of the act in the salutation, echoing through its fretted vaults, Emperor of the Romans! *

In the cursory glance which we have taken at the times from Leo the Isaurian, to the coronation of Charlemagne, we believe that we have neglected no important fact of pertinency to an inquiry into the rise and progress of the Regalia Sancti Petri. It is the interpretation of these events about which the thought of the different schools so widely diverge. Writers who have followed in the path which Muritori opened, see in it the validity of his theory of the "prescription of the ages," while others, rashly ignoring the records of early annals of undisputed authenticity, attempt to rear the entire fabric of papal temporalities on the forgeries of the Decretals of Isadore and the Donation of Constantine. That these spurious documents enlarged the papal prerogatives by reducing them to the force of written law, we presume none would hazard a denial; but assigning to each its generally received date—the Decretals, A. D. 821–845, the Donation, A. D. 755–766,—do they explain the facts of history which this inquiry has ex-

* Carlo Augusto, a Deo coronato, magno et pacifico Imperatori Romanorum, vita et victoria." Emerson has well said that "the possibility of interpretation lies in the identity of the observer with the observed." The coronation and subsequent anointing of Charlemagne with historians fall within this province. Mr. Lea with singular perverseness characterizes Leo III as "the wily Italian," the act of coronation as a "clever *coup de théâtre*," and conveys the impression that it was stealthily done, without perhaps the previous knowledge of the emperor.—*Studies in Church History*, p. 34. Although Eginhard says that if Charlemagne had known what was to have taken place, he would not have entered the church, still against this assertion much argument can be furnished in the domain of probability. Does it comport with Charlemagne's conduct on his first visit to Rome during the life time of Hadrian?

hibited? Do not the facts of history rather explain the grounds of the forgeries? *

It has been our purpose to represent, as honestly as we can, the opinions of the "Scholia Historicum," and before we leave this part of our investigation we must advert to the hypothesis to which we have already alluded, that the temporal power of the supreme Pontiff had its origin in the Catacombs of Rome. In view of the fact that Dr. Manning, the Cardinal-Archbishop of Westminster, apprehends for this power a "judicium Ecclesiæ, or authoritative sentence," which he says, "would be binding on the consciences of all the faithful,"† we prefer to give a statement of the theory in the words of

* Mr. Bowden, in his valuable *Life of Gregory VII*, written after a careful study of original documents appertaining to that period, remarks: "The immediate effect of the forgery was, therefore, rather to sanction and consolidate relations already existing between different orders in the Christian hierarchy, than to introduce new ones; and although the work, having been once received, undoubtedly did much toward handing down in its completeness the system of papal monarchy to subsequent ages, it derived its own weight, at the epoch of its origin, from the tendency which already existed in that system to perfect and extend itself."—Bk. I. Chap. i, p. 32. —Am. Ed.

† "The temporal sovereignty affords abundant and proper matter for a definition, or judgment, or authoritative declaration of the Church, like the disciplinary decrees of General Councils; or finally, the authoritative sentences in the Bulls of the Pontiffs—as, for instance, in the Bull *Auctorem fidei*—of which many relate to discipline, to ecclesiastical and mixed questions bearing on temporal things. And to such an authoritative utterance, under anathema, and by the voice of the whole Church through the Supreme Pontiff, the subject of the temporal power of the Vicar of Jesus Christ may legitimately, and not improbably attain."—*Archbishop Manning's Reunion of Christendom*, p. 45.—Am. Ed. We cannot forbear placing the words of Dr. Newman in juxtaposition with the above passage from Cardinal Manning, whom none could accuse of minimizing matters of dogma or of pious opinion. "There are those among us * * * * who have stated truths in the most paradoxical form, and stretched principles 'till they were close upon snapping; and who at length, having done their best to set the house on fire, leave to others the task of putting out the flame. The English people are sufficiently sensitive of the claims of the Pope, without having them, as if in defiance, flourished in their faces."—*Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*, p. 4.

an author, who has hitherto devoted especial study to the Papacy and the Papal States, from a Roman Catholic stand-point:

"History, when thoughtfully searched," says Canon Miley, of the Irish College, Paris, "ever leads us to the right path; in this instance, as I set out with saying, it conducts us to the Catacombs, and before the judgment seat of Nero, where St. Peter stands doomed to martyrdom, as the true fountain-head of this mysterious sovereignty. Startling as it may appear at first, this assertion—that temporal independence, exemption from earthly control, the right to have no power above him but that of his Divine Lord and master—this assertion, at first sight so anomalous, when the nature of St. Peter's charge is considered, becomes a self-evident verity. Nothing easier than to test this; one solitary argument will be enough to place the subject in the clearest light. The argument is this: That Christ conferred the supremacy of His Church on St. Peter—a supremacy not alone of honor but of jurisdiction; made him the viceroy of His kingdom on earth; invested him with his own authority to decide all controversies, judge all causes regarding truth and error, right and wrong, vice and virtue; to reward and punish, bind and loose, with an authority identical with His own. This can no more be doubted, than that the words of the Gospel, in which all these prerogatives are solemnly conferred on St. Peter are truly the words of Christ. Therefore, it must have been the will and design of the Redeemer that a sphere wherein such a supremacy could be exercised should be prepared and sequestrated from all human control, wherever the See of St. Peter was to be established finally. Otherwise, the prerogative would be nugatory; and as reason and piety forbid such a thought, it follows that the temporal sovereignty over a realm 'ample enough for liberty, too limited for domination' essentially and *jure divino* attaches to the spiritual supremacy which from St. Peter has devolved on the Popes."*

Thus established as a fixed fact in the history of European politics, the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See maintained for ages its centralizing position as supreme arbiter in the commonwealth of Catholic nations. Towering above the din and conflict of revolutions which changed the geographical surface of the earth, the papal throne stood as immutable as the eternal rock—*soliditas Cathedræ Petri*—which prefigures to the faith-

* *The Temporal Sovereignty of the Popes; its Origin; the Vicissitudes through which it has passed, from St. Peter to Pius IX; is it the Life of Rome, the Glory of Italy, the 'Magna Charta' of Christendom?* Dublin: J. Duffy, 1856. Vol. I. Chap. i, p. 5.

ful its indestructible foundation. As a court of arbitration for settling the disputes of contending nations in rude and barbarous times, the Roman See, by wise counsel preserved all that is worthy of the name of civilization. The great underlying principles, which are safeguards of modern society, have descended to our century as the beneficial results of the exercise of that supreme power before which ferocity trembled and injustice became merciful. Of the priceless services of the papacy in behalf of humanity and society during the Middle Ages a catena of evidence might be drawn from the learned authorities of all schools of historical criticism. While historians may differ as to minor details concerning the great representative Popes of the Mediæval period, yet all yield in some measure their praise of the general action of pontifical power in its office of civilizer aud saviour of the nations. Among the many profound observations of Count de Maistre, a distinguished authority among Roman Catholics, none more accord with the enlightened views of Protestant writers than his estimate of the character and work of the Mediæval Pontiffs, who "may have made too much, at the time," says he "of this universal sovereignty, which an opinion equally universal allowed them. They may have exacted homage; may indeed, if you will, have too arbitrarily imposed taxes. I do not wish to enter into these points here, but it still remains certain that they have never sought to increase their dominions at the expense of justice, while all other governments fell under this anathema; and at the present time even, with all our philosophy, our civilization, and our fine books, there is not perhaps one of the European powers in a condition to justify all its possessions before God and reason."*

Taking the particular epoch of Gregory II, and Leo the Isaurian of which Mr. George Finlay has made a discriminating study, one finds the same general fairness to the temporal power of the papacy as the central fact from which emanated that moral grandeur which relieves an otherwise dreary picture of past ages. "The Pope of Rome had long been regarded,"

* *Du Pape.* Lib. II. c.

says he, "by orthodox Christians as the head of the Church; even the Greeks admitted his right of inspection over the whole body of the clergy, in virtue of the superior dignity of the Roman See. From being the heads of the Church, the Popes became the defenders of the liberties of the people. In this character as leaders of a lawful opposition to the tyranny of the imperial administration, they grew up to the possession of immense influence in the State. This power, having its basis in democratic feelings and energies, alarmed the emperors, and many attempts were made to circumscribe the papal authority."*

The career of Gregory VII, is perhaps an apter illustration of the readiness of well-read historical scholars to pay an impartial tribute to an institution which, whatever its inherent defects, generally arrayed itself on the side of law and order, humanity and religion. How various are the lights in which the character of that imperious Pope, whom the annals of canonization count among the saints, is painted by Guizot and l'Abbé Jager on the French side,† Prof. Voigt on the German, Sir Roger Greisly, Dr. Arnold, and Mr. Bowden on the English; and yet how unanimous is their testimony as to the moral influences of that career identified by the exigencies of the age with the earthly instrumentalities by which human power seeks to perpetuate itself! The last words of the expiring pontiff—"I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile"—clearly express the struggle then waged between secular power on the one hand and spiritual authority on the other. It was, in short, when narrowed down to the direct issue, the old question of the subordination of the Church to the State which agitates in our times the German Empire of Frederick William. In an exhaustive review of the life and ser-

---

* *History of the Byzantine Empire.* London, 1850. Bk. I, c. i, p. 46.

† The work of M. l'Abbé Jager, *Histoire du Pape Grégoire VII et de son Siècle*, is a translation of Voigt's *Hildrebrand als Papst Gregorius du Siebente.*

vices of Gregory VII, in the temporal domain, Sir James Stephen says :

"Hildebrand's disposition, with whatever inconsistency, sought to guide mankind, by moral impulses, to a more than human sanctity. The feudal despotism with which it waged war, sought, with a stern consistency, to degrade them into beasts of prey or beasts of burden. It was the conflict of mental with physical power, of literature with ignorance, of religion with injustice and debauchery. To the Popes of the Middle Ages was assigned a province, their abandonment of which would have plunged the Church and the world into the same hopeless slavery. To Pope Gregory VII, were first given the genius and the courage to raise himself and his successors to the level of that high vocation."*

In our own country the temporal power has not lain as a dormant question in the state-craft of nations. It has been a large theme for the pen of the scholar and the voice of the publicist. Its solution has engaged the attention of the astutest of statesmen and the shallowest of sophists. In the ever shifting drama of European politics, it has played a part as perplexing as important. No less than forty-five popes have either been imprisoned or driven from the Eternal City. It was a momentous question in the European Congress at Vienna in 1815, when, on grounds of political necessity, England and Russia, France, Austria and Prussia resolved upon the restoration of the papal territory of which the pope had been despoiled. Again in 1849, in the French Chambers, the whole subject of the temporality of the Holy See was discussed with vehemence and learning, and the same result reached as that of 1815. M. Thiers, the Nestor of French statesmanship, then said :—

"Gentlemen, Catholic unity, which requires a certain religious submission on the part of Christian nations would be unacceptable, if the Pontiff, who is its depository, were not completely independent; if, in the midst of the territory which ages have assigned to him, and in which all nations have maintained him, another sovereign, prince, or people, should rise up to dictate the law to him. For this Pontificate there is no independence, but in sovereignty itself. Here is an interest of the first order, which should be paramount over the particular interests of nations, as in a State

* *Edinburgh Rev.* April 1845. p. 327.

the public interest should carry it over that of particular individuals; and this has authorized the Catholic powers to re-establish Pius IX on his Pontifical throne."

This opinion was eloquently seconded by the eminent historian and publicist, the late M. Guizot. We might exhibit English views, in the main similar, on the part of Burke, Castlereagh, and Palmerston, and yet by no means exhaust a tithe of material at hand; but we must make one further addition, and that from a review of Farini's Roman States from 1815 to 1850, of which Mr. Gladstone is the English translator. In speaking of the different theories as to the separation of the temporal and spiritual power of the Pope, of the ignorance of the complicated nature of papal authority on the part of some, and of the desire to undermine it on the part of others, the writer classes Farini with the latter, and Mr. Gladstone with the former, and adds:—

"Could the Pope fix his throne in the mid-heavens the schemes might be feasible, but, as he must reside in a city made with hands, he must occupy in it the place either of a prince or a subject. As a subject he can secure, neither at home nor abroad, that independence which he needs as œcumenical bishop. It was a favorite project with Bonaparte to establish the Pope at Paris, and through this ecclesiastical puppet, to sway the conscience of Europe by Nuncios as effectively as he domineered over its policy by generals and diplomatists. His scheme would have failed—he would have only created a schism and lost all by grasping too much. A bishop with patriarchal powers would have arisen in every country of any consequence, ruling the national church under the dictation of the Crown, or, less invidiously, by means of a synod."*

But at the same time that the Papacy was achieving in the Middle Ages its manifold victories for civilization and humanity, this secular power which had taken possession of the See of St. Peter was destined in the end to overleap itself. The Concordats and the controversies of modern Europe are witnesses of the presence of the same old conflict of the Hohenstaufer which crystallizes important features in the history of society. From the coronation of Charlemagne by Leo III in St. Peter's, at the close of the eighth century, to the coronation

* *Quarterly Review.* Vol. XC. p. 231.

of the First Napoleon by Pius VII, in the cathedral of Notre-Dame at the beginning of the nineteenth, the Pope had exercised the regal privileges of sovereign. For a thousand years the title-deed of his throne was unquestioned, and it is more clearly manifest to-day than that of any of the royal houses now in existence. In the domain of morals it was surely nothing less than political robbery to dispossess the Pope of a territory which was his by long established right and for ages regarded in that light by the consent of nations. It was an inherent prerogative of the Papacy to abandon the functions of temporal ruler over the States of the Church, but by what law, human or divine, can their seizure be defended? While one may look with deep admiration on the splendid services rendered to the world by a long line of illustrious Pontiffs, and while we may vainly attempt to conceive the present state of civilization with the Papacy of the Middle Ages eliminated from the historical retrospect, yet was not the world the gainer and the Church by far the loser by the exercise of this fatal gift of earthly sovereignty?* What chapters of shameless history are unfolded in the lives of the Vicars of Him, whose kingdom is not of this world! Verily this temporal power, which did so much to enrich the Papacy with secular magnificence was a portent fraught with lasting evils to the spiritual inheritance of the Vicegerent of the King of kings! It is the real gist of the Gladstone controversy of to-day, as it was the burden of no imaginary misgivings in the early Italian literature preceding the Reformation period. The grim taunt of centuries ago—"In his successisti non Petro, sed Constantino"—lends a keenness to the laments of Dante, who in his treatise on monarchy bewails the temporal grant which Constantine

* In a famous speech, a few years ago in the French Chambers, against French intervention in Italy, M. Jules Favre gave some striking statistics exhibiting the fact that the possession of temporal power had been injurious to the saintliness of the Pontiffs. Since the establishment of Christianity to the present time, he reckoned 257 Popes; 95 before the year A. D. 756, when Pepin bestowed Romagna on the Pope as a reward for having sanctioned his usurpation, 162 from A. D. 756 to 1867; of the first 95 Popes, 69 had been canonized, of the last 162 Popes, only 10.

was alleged to have bestowed on the See of St. Peter at his conversion to Christianity: "O happy people! O glorious Italy! if either he who thus weakened thine empire had never been born, or had never suffered his own pious intentions to mislead him."* And in the *Divina Comedia* he again deplores the fraudulent donation under the exquisite figure of a marriage dower, which enriches the fruitful mother of a mercenary progeny:

> "Ah Constantine! of how much ill was cause
> Not thy conversion, but those rich domains
> That the first wealthy Pope received of thee."†

We pass on to notice the deposing power of the Roman Pontiff, the logical development of the temporal power and the recognition of that development by theologians of great name in the Church of Rome. In directing attention to this branch of our inquiry we refer only to papal bulls and theological treatises of undoubted anthenticity.

In March, 1073, a vast assembly composed of bishops, priests, and citizens of Rome filled the church of the Lateran. The last funeral rites over the remains of a deceased pope, Alexander II, had awakened the interest of such a multitude. A stormy pontificate of twelve years in which had been waged an ecclesiastical warfare against simony and concubinage among the clergy was ended. Hildebrand, a man of iron mould and ascetic virtue, who had been nurtured amid the cloistered aisles of the far-famed Cluni, had been the moving spirit of Alexander's reign. During the progress of the solemn office for the dead, the cry, "Hildebrand shall be Pope!" "St. Peter chooses the Archdeacon Hildebrand!" interrupted the stillness of the scene and the obsequies of the departed. Against his inclinations, shrinking perhaps from the burdens

---

* *De Monarchia.* Lib. II.

† Milton's translation. *Reformation in England.* Bk. I, p. 8:

> "Ahi Costantin, di quanto mal fu matre,
> Non la tua conversion, ma quella dote
> Che da te prese il primo ricco patre!"
>
> —*Inferno*, C. XIX, p. 115.

and contests which were enfolded in a portentous future, Hildebrand yielded to the call and despatched messengers to Henry IV, Emperor of Germany, to inform him of his election to the Holy See. He implored Henry not to sanction the choice, and menaced him at the same time with the words—"If I be indeed made Pope, my first business must be, to see that your many sins and trespasses meet with the punishment which they deserve."* As embassador of the German Emperor, Count Eberhard was sent to Rome to inquire into the facts connected with the election of Hildebrand. Knowing the inflexible character of the newly chosen pontiff, and erratic and inexperienced as Henry was in the art of governing, he dared not brook the consequences of a negation of the wishes of the Roman people. With little delay Gregory, bishop of Vercelli, appeared in Rome as the representative of Henry IV, and on the 29th of June succeeding the turbulent outburst in the Lateran, Hildebrand assumed the tiara as Gregory VII. The epoch in which he figured as a motive power is one of the most interesting in the eleventh century. It was the age of the saintly Bernard of Clairvaux, the valiant William of Normandy, the learned Lanfranc of Canterbury, of Abelard, "the Samson of the schools in the wildness of his course, the Solomon in the fascination of his genius."† High spirit and vigor were beating in the pulses of the time. The germs of a new life were struggling into existence. The well-disciplined monk

*Ne assensum præberet, ipsum attentius exoravit. Quod si non faceret certum sibi esset, quod graviores et manifestos ipsius excessus impunitos nullatenus toleraret."—*Cardin. Arragon. in Vit.* Abbé Jager makes an extraordinary mistake in his comment on this passage:—Telles sont les paroles du Card. d'Aragon, qui écrivait près de deux cents ans après Grégoire. Aucun autre écrivain ne fait mention de cette circonstance; de toutes les lettres qu'on a conservées, pas une n'en parle."—*Hist. de Grégoire VII.* Tome I, p. 211. A contemporary writer and friend of Gregory, Sutrinus Bonizo, Bishop of Sutri, mentions the fact. Cardinal Mai, the great discoverer in Palimpsest literature, published some of the fragmentary writings of Bonizo in the *Spicilegium Romanum, &c.* 10 Vols. Rome, 1839–1840. "Interminatusque (sc. al.) si ejus electioni assensum præbuisset, nunquam ejus nequitiam patienter portaturum."—*Bonizo*, p. 811.

† *John Henry Newman's Historical Sketches.* London, 1872. p. 200.

of Cluni, with a ken long practised in expansive views, saw as in a vision the Holy Roman Empire yielding to the Holy Roman Pontificate. Two central thoughts were clearly before his mind, the reformation of the Church and its emancipation from the interference of the civil power. Guizot calls Hildebrand the Czar Peter of the Roman Catholic Church. As a master builder he laid deep the foundations of that lofty fabric which resisted the contending elements of ages. Simony and the marriage of the clergy were the principal causes of the general corruption, which threatened the extinction of every evangelical virtue. In the second year of his pontificate a Council was convened at Rome. The ancient law of celibacy, long obsolete, was re-enacted. Against this action, so imperative from some points of view in securing the reform of the Church, the clergy in northern Italy and beyond the Alps were excited with a deep-seated spirit of opposition. The gentle amenities of domestic life in some cases, and the dissolute habits in others, were not to be relinquished without a fierce struggle. A Council, the year following, struck a still heavier blow. The simonical sale of benefices, the moral blight of the times, was condemned, and active steps at once taken to enforce the edict. Henry IV of Germany, constantly at war with his rebellious barons, and rioting in licentious living expended the revenues of his kingdom with a hardihood, which was only equalled by that of the public sale to the highest bidder of the most valuable Sees within his control. The anathema against those* who received the investiture of a bishopric or abbacy from a layman, and against those by whom it should be performed at once opened the memorable contest between Church and State, between Pope and Emperor. Letter after letter was addressed to Henry IV; legate after legate was sent to remonstrate with this contumacious son of the Church. The long established prerogative of ecclesiastical nomination, which was a powerful ally to temporal princes, and which was guarded with jealous care, could only be surrendered in the last throes of humiliation and defeat. The

* *Labbe Concil.*, p. 842.

thickening clouds foretold the approach of a storm, which would shake to their centre both Church and State. Anticipating the course of the fearless Gregory, Henry summoned a Synod which met at Worms in the beginning of the year 1076. It numbered among its representatives distinguished German prelates, and offered, in appearance at least, the nucleus of a formidable opposition, which would have retarded the career of a less daring pontiff. Siegfried, the primate of Germany, was in attendance and gave it a national aspect. By solemn compact the members bound themselves no longer to acknowledge obedience to Hildebrand, nor to style him Pope. Forged letters from archbishops and bishops were read, complaining of the tyranny of the Pope, and praying that he might be deposed, and a successor elected in his stead. Through the instrumentality of the politic Count Eberhard, who proceeded immediately to Italy, another Synod was called by the bishops of Lombardy to convene at Piacenza. The decrees of Worms were ratified, and Gregory VII apparently doomed to deposition from the pontifical throne. But let us turn our eyes to a scene transpiring elsewhere. The Eternal City is filled with strangers drawn thither by the session of another council in the Lateran. Bishops from different countries, numbering over a hundred, have responded to the summons of Gregory. Henry IV by the acts of Worms and of Piacenza has placed himself beyond the reach of further entreaty and clemency. To the assembled bishops of the Roman Church, its supreme Pontiff reads the terrible sentence of excommunication and deposition of the German Emperor. We extract a part, and give a translation, of that remarkable document:

"Beate Petre, Apostolorum Princeps. * * * * tibi placuit et placet, ut populus Christianus tibi specialiter commissus, mihi obediat. Hac. itaque fiducia fretus, pro dignitate et tutela ecclesiæ suæ sanctæ, Omnipotentis Dei nomine, Patris, Filii et Spiritus Sancti, Henricum regem, Henrici quon-

It hath pleased, and still doth please, the Blessed Peter, Prince of Apostles, that the Christian people specially committed to thee should obey me in thy stead. Relying on this, for the honor and defence of thy Holy Church, in the name of Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I depose from im-

dam imperatoris filium, qui audacter nimirum et temperarie in ecclesiam tuam manus injecit, imperatoria administratione regiaque dejecio, et Christianos omnes imperio subjectos juramento illo absolvo, quo fidem veris regibus præstare consueverunt; dignum enim est, ut in honore careat, qui magistatem ecclesiæ imminuere causatur."*

perial and royal administration, King Henry, son of Henry once emperor, who too boldly and rashly hath laid hands on thy Church. I absolve all Christian subjects to the empire from that oath with which they are wont to keep faith with true kings; for it is fitting that he should be deprived of dignity who doth endeavor to diminish the majesty of the Church.

The Epistles of Gregory, especially at this period, are sufficient evidence of the thoughts upon which his mind habitually dwelt, and they express very fully the grounds of his belief in the deposing power, lodged *jure divino* in the Apostolic office. Writing to Bishop Herman of the See of Metz, against whom the degraded Emperor of Germany for a time meditated a campaign, the Pope uses these words, of which we also give a translation:

"Quod autem postulasti te quasi nostris scriptis juvari ac præmuniri contra illorum insaniam, qui nefando ore garriunt auctoritatem sanctæ at apostolicæ sedis non potuisse regem Henricum, hominem Christianæ legis contemtorem, ecclesiarum videlicet et imperii destructorem, atque hæreticorum auctorem et consentaneum excommunicare, nec quemquam a sacramento fidelitatis ejus absolvere: non adeo necessarium nobis videtur, cum hujus rei tam multa accertissima documenta in sacrarum scripturam paginis reperiantur."†

As to thy request for aid and confirmation by our writings against the madness of those who wickedly asseverate that it was not competent for the Holy and Apostolic See to excommunicate King Henry, the contemner of Christian law, the destroyer of Church and State, the aider and abettor of heretics, nor to absolve any from allegiance to him, it does not seem needful to us, inasmuch as so many and most certain proofs of the thing can be found in the pages of the Holy Scriptures.

* *Plat. in Greg. VII*, et Tom. 7, *Conc. Rom. iii, apud Binium*, p. 484.

† *Greg. Ep. VIII, 21.* Gregory adds still further:—"Nos sanctorum prædecessorum statuta tenentes, eos qui excommunicatis fidelitati aut sacramento absolvimus, et ne eis fidelitatem observent, ominibus modis prohibemus.

Gregory's character from the time of the promulgation of of the bull against Henry becomes more complicated; and it is a question on which a great deal of comment has been expended as to whether in this strange admixture the element of good or of evil predominated. At one moment there seems to centre in his person all the majesty of law and order which the age could venerate; at another he looms up a very incarnation of imperiousness softened by no touch of human pity, and dead to every emotion of generosity and of mercy. We will not follow him in his course against Henry whom he reduced to a suppliant penitent, standing for three days in midwinter at the gates of the castle of Canossa, seeking reconciliation with the haughty master of the Seven Hills. Nor will we examine the final results of the contest which sent Gregory to a lonely exile, in which he expired, receding from none of the purposes of his pontificate, and relenting from none of its maledictions against Henry.

Passing over the reigns of eighteen Popes and the antagonisms which proved abortive to uproot or to check the growing idea of theocracy on the earth, of which the Pope was to be the supreme ruler, we reach another marked era in the history of the Papacy, an era holding the same relation to the thirteenth as that of Gregory to the eleventh century. It is the epoch of all history in which the commanding position of the See of Rome has no parallel either in the splendor of its achievements in secular domination, or in the establishment of religious orders whose members, either as the children of St. Francis or of St. Dominic, were the especial defenders of high papal prerogatives. Here we attempt no comprehensive outlines, or living details, but some meagre features which chronologically belong to this grand epoch as important parts for the intelligent understanding of its historical and moral significancy.

Pope Celestine III, who had placed the crown on the head of Henry VI, died on the 8th of January, 1198. The subject of a successor had filled the last months of his life with anxiety. An old feud between the houses of Orsini and Scotti, to the former of which he belonged, led him to desire the Sacred

College to elect John of Colonna. But among its members, the name of Cardinal Lothaire of the illustrious Conti family, distinguished in the annals of the Papacy, rallied the unanimous support of the cardinals, and at the unprecedented age of thirty-seven, he ascended the pontifical throne as Innocent III. Three months before the death of the venerable Celestine the youthful Henry had contracted a fever from exposure in the chase, and died at Messina. The gentle hearted Constance, his wife, soon followed him to an early grave, leaving Frederick II, a child not three years old, as the sole heir to the kingdom of his father. In her last hours, the Empress committed to the Pope the guardianship of her little son. The House of Hohenstaufer had reached the zenith of its glory and its power. The two Sicilies, an inheritance from his father, at the death of Tancred of an extinct line, had submitted to Henry. For the consolidation of his kingdom, he had matured large plans, the most important of which was to make the crown of the German Empire hereditary in his own family. But death terminated the boundless ambition of the Hohenstaufer and the march of his conquests. At this critical juncture, during the minority of Frederick, there was need of a strong and unbending will to control the factious elements fermenting in the heart of Society. Innocent III possessed every requisite qualification to gain for the Papacy a supreme ascendency over the dominant powers of Europe. A service of eight years in the Cardinalate, and an extraordinary knowledge of State affairs gained during the pontificate of his uncle Clement III, fitted him to assume the triple crown at so early an age. Educated in the celebrated school of St. John of the Lateran, and at the Universities of Paris and Bologna, he had distinguished himself as a theologian and as a jurist. To an analytic mind, graced with the culture of severe study under the best masters of his day, were united a sincere piety and an exalted idea of the supremacy of the Church over every earthly power. The mantle of the great Hildebrand easily adjusted itself to his shoulders. The first acts of his reign were to exact from the Roman prefect the oath of allegiance, to take under his patronage the Lombardic League,

and to institute a kindred confederacy of cities of Tuscany,* through the instrumentality of which, he degraded the German governor, whom Henry had placed over territories, the possessions of the Church. Italy was rent with factions, which frustrated every effort in the direction of freedom and stability of government. Innocent developed the plan by which the two great parties, afterwards known as Guelph and Ghibelline, were brought to reconciliation. His rule over the Two Sicilies, considering the arduous difficulties which met him on every side, was wise and benificent. The administrative abilities of Innocent were of the highest order. As a diplomat, he carried on negotiations with the crowned heads of Europe with all the high courage and daring intrepidity of his great exemplar, Gregory VII. He solved delicate questions of State which had descended from his predecessor, the timid Celestine, who could never sufficiently nerve himself to dissect them. He found Philip Augustus of France living in adultery, as the canon law of the Church regarded it, with Agnes, the fascinating daughter of Bertholdt, Duke of Milan. The dissolution of the former marriage between Philip and Ingeburga, sister of Canute, king of Denmark, had been sanctioned by the pliant Archbishop of Rheims, and the unfortunate Queen a stranger among aliens, suspected of that crime which most debases the character of her sex, had retired to the seclusion of the Convent of Beaurepaire. Such was the aspect of affairs in France at the consecration of Innocent. The royal scandal at which Celestine had connived, met with condign punishment from his successor. A letter of remonstrance containing intimations of ecclesiastical censure was dispatched to the Bishop of Paris. A papal legate speedily followed, bearing mandatory messages from the Pope to Philip, among which was the pontifical command, couched in no mistakable language, to take back his unlawfully divorced wife. Philip Augustus enamored by the charms of Agnes was at first disposed to turn a deaf ear to the menace of Rome, and treat it with sullen contempt. At the expiration of the allotted time

* *Sismondi's Italian Republic.*—Am. Ed. p. 68.

granted him to fulfill the demands conveyed by the Apostolic nuncio, an interdict was pronouuced at Dijon, and its publication spread terror throughout the French dominions. The churches were closed, their bells silent, and a funeral gloom rested on the land:

> "Straight from the sun and tainted air's embrace
> All sacred things are covered: Cheerful morn
> Grows sad at night.—No seemly garb is worn,
> Nor is a face allowed to meet a face
> With natural smiles of greeting. Bells are dumb;
> Ditches are graves,—funeral rites denied;
> And in the churchyard he must take his bride
> Who dares be wedded!*

The enraged monarch retaliated. He drove bishops from their Sees, confiscated their property, and confined the helpless and hated Ingeburga within the walls of the Castle of Estampes. Tumult and discontent reigned from one end of his kingdom to the other. An uprising of his subjects was imminent, and rather than face the consequences of the indignation of an outraged people, Philip, after the lapse of eight months, succumbed, took back the wife whom he loathed, and the interdict of his dominions was removed.

The easy victory of Innocent over the French King emboldened him in a subsequent contest with John of England. A disputed election to the Archbishopric of Canterbury brought about the quarrel which continued with great vigor on both sides for four years. The case of the two rival candidates, Reginald and John de Gray, both claiming the primacy of the church in England, was referred to Innocent for arbitration. He declared the election of each invalid, and secured the nomination of Stephen Langton, a successor worthy of the seat of Thomas à Becket. Langton was by birth an Englishman, eminent for piety, learning and equability of temper. He was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury at Viterbo, whither the

---

* *Wordsworth. Eccl. Sonnet, xxxvi. An Interdict.* Hume's description of an Interdict during the reign of John of England is very graphic. Vol. I, p. 412, and also that in the "Lives of the English Saints," No. 10, p. 32. *Life of Stephen Langton.*

Pope had gone to spend the summer of 1207.* John no sooner heard of this act on the part of Innocent than he determined to resist the papal encroachment on the established precedent of his realm. He refused to acknowledge Langton as primate of Langton, and began at once to despoil the revenues of the church. England was put under an interdict, the King excommunicated, and his subjects released from allegiance to a deposed sovereign. Like Philip of France, John finally humbled himself before the Pope, received Langton as Archbishop of Canterbury, and consented to receive his kingdom again as fief of the Holy See, a transaction which Lingard, in spite of the extenuating considerations which he adduces, pronounces disgraceful.† In connection with papal interference in England, there is another curious question which Innocent seems entirely to have ignored, and upon what grounds of canon law or of ecclesiastical precedent, when compared with his peremptory conduct towards Philip Augustus, we are unable to determine. For twelve years John had lived with Johanna, daughter of the Earl of Gloucester, as his lawful wife, and on the plea of a remote consanguinity, the Archbishop of Bordeaux granted a divorce. While Embassadors at Lisbon were negotiating an alliance with the Princess of Portugal, the King of England, in a sudden freak of passion, married Isabella, daughter of the Count of Angoulême and the espoused wife of Hugh, Count of La Marche.

Having brought our narrative to this point, we must pass over other victories and interesting details in the career of Innocent, such as the selection of Otho as Emperor, Alfonso IX. of Leon, putting away his wife on account of affinity, Sancho I of Portugal, paying arrears of tribute, and John of Bulgaria, receiving his crown at the Pope's hands, in order to notice the chief ecclesiastical event in his reign, the twelfth General Council or the fourth of the Lateran.

In November, 1215, the Great Council, as it is frequently

* F. Hurter. *Geschichte Papst Innocens* III, *und seiner Zeit-genossen*, II, p. 39.

†*Hist. of England*, Eng. Ed. Vol. III, p. 34.

called by canonists, assembled at Rome. Among the synods of the Roman Catholic church it has scarcely an equal in numerical strength and sacerdotal dignity. It numbered four hundred and twelve bishops, and over eight hundred abbots and priors. The Patriarchs of Antioch and Alexandria, of Constantinople and Jerusalem, were represented by proxy. Embassadors from Germany, England, Ireland, France, Spain and Hungaria attended its session. The crowd was so dense that it is said the Bishop of Amalfi was suffocated. The Council, legislating upon the most vital questions which appertained to the well-being and security of religion, did not sit longer than a month. One after another of its members departed by permission, which, if we may credit Matthew Paris, was given on condition of payment of certain sums of money to the Pope.* Innocent, and more especially his legates, were covetous of riches,† but it ought to be recorded in praise of the pontiff that in an evil generation he lived, so far as his personal habits were concerned, in ascetic simplicity, and devoted a large portion of the ecclesiastical revenues in relieving the poor and in promoting the success of the crusades. These important measures were brought before this large representation of Christendom, the conquest of the Holy Land, the reformation of the church and the extermination of heretics. Seventy capitularies or canons were drawn by Innocent himself,‡ of whom a recent leraned writer has said, that he was "no lawless invader of the rights of others, but rather he was one of the most eminent and exact canonists that ever adorned the chair of St. Peter.‖ We will not distract the attention of the reader by entering into any discussion of the claims of this Council to be considered œcumenical, or by the manner by which the canons were passed; these are inquiries alien to our

Hist. ad. ann. 1216.

†*F. Hurter, Gesch. Innoc.* III. Vol. II, p. 695.

‡Matthew Paris, *ad. ann.* 1215. "Facto prius ab ipso Papâ exhortationis sermone, recitata sunt in pleno Concilio capitula septuaginta, quæ aliis placabilius aliis videbantur onerosa."

‖ Emund S. Ffoulkes, *Christendom's Divisions*, part ii, p. 200.

investigation.† The following extract, which we make from the Third Canon of the Council, harmonizes well with the imperious doctrines of the Hildebrandine period:

"Moneantur autem, et inducantur, et si necesse fuerit, per censuram ecclesiasticam compillantur seculares potestates quibuscunque fungantur officiis, ut sicut reputari cupiunt et haberi fideles, ita pro defensione fidei præstent publice juramentum, quod de terris suæ jurisdictioni subjectis, universos hæreticos ab Ecclesia denotatos, bona fide pro viribus exterminare studebunt ita quod a modo, quandocunque quis fuerit in potestatem, sine spiritualem (marg. sine perpetuam sine temporalem) sine temporalem assumptus, hoc teneatur capitulum juramento firmare.

"Si vero dominus temporalis requisitus, et monitus ab ecclesia, terram suam purgare neglexerit ab hac hæritica feditate, per metropolitanum et extuos comprovinciales episcopos excommunicationis vinculo innodetur. Et si satisfacere contempserit infra annum significetur hoc summo Pontifici, ut extunc ipse vassallos ab ejus fidelitate denuntiet absolutos, et terram exponat Catholicis occupandam, qui eam exterminatis hæreticis sine ulla contradictione possideant, et in fidei puritate conservent, salvo jure domini principalis, dummodo super hoc ipse nullum præstet obstaculum, nec aliquod impedimentum opponat, eadem nihil ominas lege servata circa eos,

"Nevertheless, let the secular powers, whatsoever offices discharging, be admonished and induced, and if necessary by ecclesiastical censure be compelled that even as they desire to be reputed and esteemed faithful, so for the defense of the faith they bind themselves by a public oath, that in good faith to the extent of their power they will labor for the extermination of all manner of heretics designated by the church throughout the territories subject to their jurisdiction; insomuch, that whenever any be invested with power, whether spiritual or temporal, he be held bound to ratify his title by this oath.

"But if a temporal lord, having been required and admonished by the church, shall neglect to purge his territory of such heretical pravity, he shall be excommunicated by the metropolitan and his suffragans: on his neglect, during a year to give them satisfaction, this shall be notified to the supreme Pontiff, and upon such information his Holiness shall denounce the vassals of the offender to be absolved by law from their obligation of fealty, and expose his lands to be occupied by Catholics, who, having exterminated the heretics, from them shall possess them without any contradiction, and preserve them in the purity of the faith, saving,

† Palmer, in his *Treatise on the Church*, is explicit as to authorities upon these points. Vol. II, p. 219.

qui non habent dominos principales." *

however, the right of the superior lord, provided that he raise no objection to impede the proceeding. The method of discipline is likewise to be observed towards those who have no superior lord "

Boniface VIII placed the cap-stone on the magnificent fabric of temporal dominion reared by the genius of the Gregories and the Innocents. But, like all edifices fashioned by the handicraft of man, it was controlled by the same inexorable law that governs every combination of merely earthly power. It is a singular fact, that the inherent tendency to destruction showed itself in the reign of him who gave to this sacerdotal structure its crowning glory. It is a common opinion among ecclesiastical writers, that the transfer of the papal court to Avignon was mainly caused by the angry contentions of the pontificate of Boniface, but we believe that a careful study of the period would lead to a different view.† The papal reign at Avignon was most disastrous in its consequences. Out of the great schism which it created was wrought that base secular spirit which characterized the pontificates of Sixtus IV, Alexander VI, and Julius II, as ignominious land-marks in the melancholy history of their times.

---

* *Conciliorum Generalium Ecclesiæ Catholicæ*, Tom IV. *Pauli V. Pont. Max. auctoritate editus. Romæ*, MDCXLL. p. 44. The epistles of Innocent are full of the same high papal doctrine. "Romanus pontifex, qui non puri hominis, sed veri Dei vicem gerit in terris . . . non humana sed divina potius auctoritate dissolvit." *Innoc. Epist.*, 335.

† Every point, one might say, in the life of Boniface is contested. As a crisis in the history of the Church, his age deserves careful study. Gibbon, Sismondi, and Hallam all differ in some particulars. To those who desire to study the pontificate of Boniface from various points of view we commend Drumann, *Gsch. Bonifacius des Achten*; Tosti, *Storia di Bonifacio VIII e de' suoi tempi*, and Schawb, in the *Quartalschrift*, 1846, No. 1. The *Dublin Review* for Nov. 1841 contains an able article which examines the authorities of Sismondi. It is from the pen of the late Cardinal Wiseman, and is republished in his Essays on Various Subjects, Vol. III. Dunham's *Middle Ages*, Vol. II, p. 76. Crowe's *France*, Vol. I, p. 85, are books easily accessible to the general reader.

Pietro da Murrone, the saintly recluse of Abruzzo, who, in 1294, succeeded Nicolas IV, and took the name of Celestine V, was as unaggressive a spirit as ever occupied the chair of St. Peter. His life was spent in prayer and meditation, and while princes were scheming to manipulate the Papacy for their own aggrandizement, this unsuspecting hermit was absorbed in religious exercises better suited perharps for the lonely cavern which he left than for the throne in which he now sat. His rule of five months sowed the seeds of dissensions which convulsed the Church for nearly a century. Celestine was as plastic as clay in the hands of Charles II of Naples, through whose influence he established his court at Naples rather than at Rome, and created in one day twelve cardinals, seven of whom were French, and a majority of the number willing minions of the unscrupulous Charles. The pious recluse who had accepted the tiara contrary to his own wishes, but in conformity to those of Charles of Naples and Andrew III of Hungary, abdicated a throne for which he was wholly unfitted either by education or disposition. Into this arena of conflict stepped a man fashioned in another school than that of severest abstinence and devotion. It was Cardinal Benedetto Gaietani, a priest and jurist who had grown grey in the service of the Roman Court. Elected the successor of Celestine, he took the name of Boniface VIII.

Cardinal Benedetto was stern in his manners, faulty in judgment, and of an inflexible will. He aimed to make his pontificate the rival of that of Gregory and of Innocent in the supremacy of its power over the authority of kings and the rights of nations, but the strong man was caught in the toils of foreign and local animosities,* and paid a fearful penalty

* Machiavelli has a remarkable passage :—"I cieli fecero crescere in Roma due potentissime famiglie, Colonnesi ed Orsini, accioechè il papa quando mancasse degli ostacoli oltramontani non potesse nè fermare nè godere la potenza sua. Ondechè papa Bonifacio, si volse a volere spegnere i Colonnesi, ed oltre allo avergli scomunicati, bandi loro la crociata contra. Il chè sebbene offese alquanto loro, offese più la Chiesa perchè quelle arnie le quali per carità della fede aveva virtuosamente ad operate, come si volse per propria ambizione ai Cristiani, cominciarono a non tagliare. E còsi il troppo desiderio di spogare il loro appetito, face chè i pontefici appoco si desarmavano."—*Le Istorie Fiorentine*, L. i, c. 5.

for this assumption of universal autocracy. Great changes had taken place in society and in nations since the iron rule of the two predecessors, whom Boniface aspired to outlive. That great lever of the world, public opinion, lent a moral support to rulers in an aggressive warfare against the universal temporal dominion of the See of Rome. Three distinct events divide the reign of Boniface, his quarrel with the princely family of the Colonnas, his contest with Frederick of Aragon, and his dispute with Philippe-le-Bel. We do not here attempt to disentangle the labyrinthine politics of the first two events in which Boniface was embroiled, as they have no necessary connection with our present purpose. The French monarch is known in history as the implacable enemy of the Templars, and as the 'Faux Monnayeur,' who alloyed coin, ordered his subjects to exchange their plate for the spurious or debased money, with which he paid his debts, and then repudiated the coinage of the royal mint. A more pusillanimous tyrant than the antagonist of Boniface never sat upon a throne. Having levied a tenth on the clergy of his realm without the approbation of the pope, a quarrel arose between them, which became more inextricably involved by Philippe's disregard of the papal arbitration in the dispute between himself and Edward I of England, relative to the possession of Guienne. Boniface sent a legate to remonstrate with the king. The French bishop acting in a legative capacity accused his monarch of oppression and disloyalty to the Holy See; as a subject of Philippe, he was prosecuted on the strange charge of sorcery and atheism, and thrown into prison. Exasperated at this foul conduct of the French king, Boniface threatened excommunication, but the voice of a feeble old man in a distant city, blinded by the papal precedents of an earlier age, failed to arouse terror in the conscience of Philippe. The epoch of Philip Augustus of France and John of England had passed away never to return; the deposing power of the pope, although strongly reasserted, was broken, and the fulminations from the Vatican, instead of being listened to in anxious suspense, now created scarcely a stir among the diplomatic agents of the European courts. The obsequious chancellor of Philippe,

William of Nogaret,* at the command of his monarch, prepared an indictment of heresy, simony, and atheism against the pontiff himself. To bring him to trial before a French tribunal, a conspiracy was formed, in which Sciana Colonna, an expelled Guelphic cardinal, joined Philippe's chancellor. In the mean while, the king, who had appealed for the assembling of a General Council in order to depose the pope, was excommunicated, and his kingdom placed under an interdict. A small force, commanded by William of Nogaret, marched into Italy and surprised Boniface at Anagni. The shouts of the invaders, "Long live the King, and death to Boniface," awakened the defenceless pontiff to a realization of his situation. In full pontifical robes, seated on his throne and clasping a crucifix, the Venerable Boniface received Sciana Colonna, who rushed into his presence with drawn sword. The placid heroism of the pope overawed the degraded cardinal. But William of Nogaret was moved by no such memories as filled the soul of a Colonna. The tragic picture of the supreme Pontiff touches the heart of the great Ghibelline poet of Italy, and for a moment he forgets his hatred of a Guelphic pope:

"To hide with direr guilt
Past ill and future, lo! the flower-de-luce
Enters Alagna; in his Vicar Christ
Himself a captive, and his mockery
Acted again. Lo! to his holy lip
The vinegar and gall once more applied;
And he 'twixt living robbers doom'd to bleed.
Lo! the new Pilate, of whose cruelty
Such violence cannot fill the measure up,
With no decree to sanction, pushes on
Into the temple his yet eager sails."†

After an imprisonment of three days in his native city Anagni, Boniface was released by its inhabitants, but he soon died in Rome in consequence of the shock and the treatment

* Mosheim says that William of Nogaret "was the most intrepid and inveterate enemy the popes ever had before Luther."—*Eccl. Hist.*, Vol. III, p. 313, note.

† Carry's *Translation*, *Purgatory*, c. 20. Dante calls Boniface: "Lo principe de' nuovi Farisei." *Inferno*, c. xxvii, v. 85.

received at the hands of his enemies.* A strange story, which has no foundation in fact, was told relative to the death of Boniface. It was reported that he violently dashed his head against the wall; that his white hair was matted with his own gore, and that he strangled himself with his bed clothing†, thus fulfilling the prophecy attributed to Celestine that Boniface "should enter on the popedom like a fox, reign like a lion, and die like a dog." A century after his death this improbable account of his ghastly end was curiously exploded. It became necessary to take down his chapel in the Vatican, and to remove his body which was found in a good state of preservation. It is said that the veins and skin of the head bore no traces of violence, and that his hands which he was represented to have gnawed were as perfect as in their original conformation.

The act in the pontificate of Boniface which has given rise to bitter controversy in subsequent ages was the issue of the bull, Unam Sanctum. Of the contest with Philippe-le-Bel during which it was promulgated, we have detailed the leading incidents that the reader may fully appreciate the position of both monarch and pope. A writer in the *Dublin Review* says: "Whatever be the doctrine inculcated in the body of the bull, Catholics as such are not obliged to accept that doctrine. In the first place, the large majority of Catholic writers consider that the bull contains no *ex-cathedrâ* definition (beyond an incidental one on the heresy of 'two principles') except in his last sentence—'*Porro subesse Romano Pontifici omnem humanem creaturam declaramus, discimus, definimus et pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis.*' Now the word '*subesse*' is certainly most vague; and the words of the final clause taken by themselves need not to be understood as expressing more

* William of Nogaret treated the pope "in the most shocking manner, and carried his resentment so far as to wound him on the head by a blow with his iron gauntlet." Mosheim's *Eccl. Hist.*, Vol. III, p. 314.

† Sismondi tells this story as though it were true, and in a foot note refers to Muratori, but suppresses the comment of Muratori, who pronounces it an "indignum mendacium."

than the strict obligation of obeying the Pope in matters exclusively spiritual. Many Catholics accordingly understand the definition in this sense; and they have more than one plausible ground for their interpretation."* One extract from the bull must be confined to that part in which the power of the two swords, spiritual and temporal, is clearly enunciated:

"In hac ejusque potestate duos esse gladios, spiritualem videlicet et temporalem. Evangelicis dictis instruimur. Nam dicentibus Apostolis: 'Ecce gladii duo hic,' in Ecclesia scilicet, cum Apostoli loquerentur, non respondit Dominus nimis esse, sed satis. . . . . Utuque ergo est in potestate Ecclesiæ, spiritualis scilicet gladius et materialis. Sed is quidem pro Ecclesia, ille vero ab Ecclesia exercendus. Ille sacerdotis, is manu regum et militum, sed ad nutum et patientiam sacerdotis. Oportet antem gladium esse sub gladio et temporalem auctoritatem spirituali subjici potestate: nam cum dicat Apostolus 'Non est potestas nisi a Deo, quæ antem sunt a Deo ordinata sunt:' nisi gladius esset sub gladio.

Nam veritate testante, spiritualis potestas terrenam potestatem instituere habet et judicare, si bona non fuerit, sic de Ecclesia et ecclesiastica potestate verificatur vaticinium Hieremiæ: 'Ecce constitui te hodie super gentes et regna,' et cætera quæ sequanter. Ergo si deviat terrena potestate, judicabitur a potestate spirituali; . . . si vero deviat suprema spiritualis (potestas) a solo Deo, non ab homine pote-

"We are taught by the words of the Evangelists that in his power there are two swords, the spiritual and the temporal. For when the Aspostles said: 'Lo, here are two swords,' namely in the church; when the Apostles spoke, the Lord did not say, 'It is too much,' but, 'It is enough.' . . . . Both swords, therefore, are in the power of the Church; namely, the spiritual sword and the material sword: but the one is to be exercised by the Church, the other for the Church; the one by the hands of the priest, the other by the hands of kings and soldiers, but at the nod and sufference of the priest But it behooves that one sword be subject to the spiritual power; for when the Apostle says: 'There is no power but of God, and the powers that be are ordained of God;' they would not be ordained, unless the one sword were subject to the other.

For truth bearing witness, the spiritual power can appoint the earthly power, and judge it, if it be not good; for this the prophecy of Jeremiah truly states of the Church and ecclesiastical power. 'Behold, I have set thee over nations and kingdoms," (xc.,) with the words which follow. Therefore, if the

* January, 1875. Art. iii, p. 202.

rit judicari, testante Apostolo, 'Spiritualis homo judicat omnia, ipse antem a nemine judicatur.'

Porro subesse Romano Pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, decimus, definimus et pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis."*

earthly power deviates, it is judged by its superior; but if the supreme power deviates, it can be judged by God alone, not by man. Witness the Apostle's declaration; 'he that is spiritual judgeth all things, but he himself is judged by no man.'

Moreover, we declare, affirm, define, and pronounce, that it is altogether a matter of necessity to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff."

In treating of the intervention of Boniface between Edward and Philippe, Hume remarks that an exercise of papal authority over the temporal jurisdiction of princes, has been "secretly abandoned, though never openly relinquished, by his successors in the apostolic chair."† Another memorable occasion, and the last we shall mention, which provoked the thunders of the Vatican, occurred in the era of the Reformation, when the interests which divided the world were Catholic and Protestant. At the head of the one was Spain under Philip II, and of the other, England under Elizabeth. The contemporary of these monarchs was Michael Ghislieri, Cardinal of Alexandria, who sat on the papal throne as Pius V. "Born," says Ranke, "under the wings of the Inquisition,‡ Pius presents to the world a unique character, made up of qualities at once dissimilar and inopposite. Possessing the piety and earnestness of a Paul IV without his arrogance, he is a match for him in violence of prejudice or of zeal. Blinded by his solicitude for the Church, he sanctioned measures of doubtful morality and of cruel persecution. While his character is radiant with saintly beauty, it is, at the same time, marred by more than human perverseness." His comments to

* *Corpus Juris Canonici.* Ed. Boehmer. Tome II, p. 1139.

†*Hist. of England.* Vol. II, p. 120.

‡*Hist. of the Popes*, Vol. I, p. 285. Prescott's *Philip the Second*, Vol. II, p. 45.

Count Santafiore, if the authority quoted by Ranke* can be relied on, is as diabolical, in its purport, as any of the edicts that were hurled from the throne of the Cæsars. The unlovely lineaments of his character are more distinguishable in subsequent ages, because history has placed by his side, as his contemporary and his friend, one of the gentlest and purest souls ever nursed in the bosom of Catholicism, or numbered among the saints, the great Carlo Borromeo, Cardinal Archbishop of Milan. It is unnecessary to dwell on the leading events of the reign of Elizabeth, so familiar to all. According to every canonical law of the Roman Catholic Church, the claim of Mary Stuart to the English throne was preferable to that of her cousin Elizabeth. Pius V had espoused the cause of the unfortunate Mary, and, in 1569, issued a bull of excommunication against the English queen, releasing her subjects from their allegiance. A fanatical Roman Catholic, one John Felton, affixed it to the gates of the palace of the bishop of London. The bull is said to have been drawn by Cardinal di Montalto, afterwards Sixtus V, about whom popular writers are fond of rehearsing unauthenticated stories as to his sudden rejuvenation, when elected to the Papacy.† From this formidable paper, we select the Sentential Declaratis, with a translation:

"Illius itaque auctoritate suffulti, qui nos in hoc supremo Justitiæ Throno, licet tanto oneri impares, voluit collocare, de Apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine, declaramus prædictam Elizabetham Hæreticam, et Hæreticorum fautricem, eique adherentes in predictis, anathematis sententiam incurrisse, esseque a Christi Corporis unitate præcisos: Quin etiam ipsam prætenso Regni prædicti jure, nec non omni et quoramque Dominio, dignitate, privile-

"In virtue, therefore, of his authority, who has been pleased to advance us to the supreme seat of justice, though underproportioned to support so great a weight, we, out of the plenitude of our apostolical authority, declare the aforesaid Elizabeth a heretic, and an encourager of heretics. And that those who adhere to her in the practices above mentioned, lie under the censure of an anathema, and are cut off from the unity of the body of

*_Hist. of the Popes._ Vol. I, p. 286.

†Bancroft's _Literary and Historical Miscellanies_, p. 24.

gioque privatam; et item proceres, subitos et populos dicti Regni, ac cæteros omnes, qui illi quomodocunque juraverunt a Juramento hujus modi, ac omni prorsus dominii, fidelitatis, et obsequii debito, perpetuo absolutos, prout nos illos præsentium auctoritate absolvimus, et privamus eandem Elizabetham prætenso jure Regni, aliisque omnibus supradictis. Præcipimusque et interdicimus universis et singulis proceribus, subditis, populis et aliis prædictis; ne illi, ajusve monitis, mandatis, et legibus audeant obedire: Qui secus egerint, eos simili Anathematis sententia innodamus.*

Christ; we likewise declare the said Elizabeth deprived of the pretended right to the kingdom above mentioned, and of all dominion, dignity and privilege whatsoever: and that all the nobility, and subjects of the said realm, who have sworn to her in any manner whatsoever, are forever absolved from any such oath, and from all obligation of fidelity and allegiance: and, by virtue of these presents, we actually absolve them, and deprive the said Elizabeth of the pretended right to the Crown, and all other pre-eminences and privileges above-mentioned. We likewise command all the nobility, subjects, and others above-mentioned, that they do not presume to obey her orders, commands or laws for the future: and those who act otherwise, are involved in the same sentence of excommunication.' †

The disastrous results of such a policy pursued by Pius towards England were not slow in showing themselves. And Roman Catholics as a body remained loyal subjects of the queen under trials and persecutions which increased the noble army of martyrs and confessors, still the seeds of suspicion and distrust sown in the English mind by Pius and his continental advisers have never been fully eradicated. The evil consequences following the excommunication of Elizabeth are stated by no writer with greater force than by Lingard, the Roman Catholic historian:

"If the Pontiff promised himself any particular benefit from this measure, the result must have disappointed his expectations. The time was gone by, when the thunders of the Vatican could shake the thrones of princes. By foreign powers the bull was

*Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*. Vol. I, No. LXXIV, p. 331; also, Burnet's *History of the Reformation*. Vol. IV, p. 399.

†Collier's *Eccl. Hist.* Vol. IV, p. 463.

suffered to sleep in silence; among English Catholics, it served only to breed doubt, dissension and dismay. Many contended that it had been issued by an uncompetent authority; others that it could not bind the natives till it should be carried into actual execution by some foreign power; all agreed that it was in their regard an imprudent and cruel expedient, which rendered them liable to the suspicion of disloyalty, and afforded their enemies a pretence to brand them with the name of traitors." *

The bull of Pius, and more especially those of his predecessors, became the seed-plot from which were transplanted the ultramontane principles found in the dogmatic utterances of great Roman Catholic theologians. Thomas Aquinas (1227-1274) the Angel of the Schools, and as Sir James Macintosh calls him, "the moral master of Christendom for three centuries," † is by far the most philosophical of the schoolmen. Eagle of theologians he is styled, and he soars above them all in the completeness and vastness of the design exhibited in his *Summa*, the outline of a system of the Science of Theology, which he did not live to develope into a concrete and rounded whole. The recognition of the interlacing of ethical and political questions—of questions educed by the contact of the natural with the supernatural in the order of the world, is clearly discerned, and the temporal at such points of intersection is subordinated to the spiritual and eternal. When religion enters into politics, which it always must, under whatever form of government we may live, the formula of Aquinas furnishes a dictum of belief and action about which so-called Evangelical Christianity and Catholicism can have no dispute. It is the rendering unto Cæsar the

---

* *Hist. of England*, Vol. VIII, p. 57. Dr. Newman also says: "I am not bound to defend the policy or the acts of particular Popes, whether before or after the great revolt from their authority in the sixteenth century. There is no reason that I should contend, and I do not contend, for instance, that they at all times have understood our own people, our national character and resources, and our position in Europe; or that they have never suffered from bad counsellors or misinformation."—*Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*, p. 43.

† *Prelim. Diss.*, p. 328.

things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's:

"Dicendum quod potestas sæcularis sub itur spirituali sicut corpus animæ. Et ideo non est usurpatum judicium si spiritualis prælatus se intromittat in temporalibus quantum ad ea in quibus subditur si sæcularis potestas." *

"It must be held that the secular power is subject to the spiritual power, as the body is subject to the soul. And hence it is not a usurped authority when a spiritual prelate interferes in temporal matters, in those things in which the secular power is subject to him."

The boundary line which Aquinas drew between the functions of the Church and the functions of the State was extended by later theologians, and the spiritual, gradually invaded the prerogatives of the secular order. In Cardinal Baronius (1538-1607), the confessor of Clement VIII, and the successor of St. Philip Neri as superior of the Oratorians, we arrive at a distinct enunciation of the doctrine of the supremacy of the See of Rome in temporal as in spiritual affairs. Although defective in the critical faculty of the historian, he is a great authority in the Roman Catholic Church, and his opinions carry weight on points of historical controversy. He affirms the legitimate possession of the two swords of the Church, and as a consequence the moral right, if not the moral obligation, to use them:

"Hæresis errore notantur omnes qui ab Ecclesia Romana Petri e duobus alterum gladium auferunt nec nisi spirituale lem concedunt." †

"All those who take from the Roman Church, and from the See of St. Peter one of the two swords, and allow only the spiritual, are branded for heretics."

Cardinal Bellarmine (1542–1621) is a familiar name to all who know anything of the controversial literature of the Church of Rome. He is the ablest defender of its tenets, the most scrupulous and exact in stating the position of his antagonists. Mosheim ‡ commends his candor and plain dealing, and Bishop Marsh, of the English Church, calls him "the most

* *Summa Theol.* 2ª. 2æ., q. 40, a. b. ad 3.

† *Baron. Ann.* 1053. 14.

‡ Mosheim's *Eccl. Hist.* Vol. IV, p. 206.

acute, the most methodical, the most comprehensive, and at the same time one of the most candid among the controversialists of the Church of Rome."* He maintained in his treatise, *De Romano Pontifici*, an indirect papal power over the temporality of kings. This view of the prerogative of the Holy See so displeased Sixtus V, who claimed the direct power, that he placed the treatise of Bellarmine in the Index Expurgatorius, but before the edition was published Sixtus died, and Urban, his successor, removed it. † Bellarmine very fully defines the different theories of the temporal power, and in the elaboration of his argument reviews at length the historical precedents which we have already considered. One extract from his treatise will suffice:

" Pontificem ut Pontificem, etsi non habeat ullam mere temporalem potestatem, tamen habere in ordine ad bonum spirituale summam potestatem disponendi de temporalibus omnium Christianorum."‡	" That the Pontiff as Pontiff, although he has any merely temporal power, hath, nevertheless, in order to a spiritual good, the supreme power of disposing of the temporal concerns of all Christians."

The most ardent and subtlest of the advocates of the supreme papal power is the celebrated Jesuit theologian Suarez, (1548–1617). At the request of the Pope, he employed his flexible intellect in developing a system in his work, *Defensio Catholicæ Fidei contra Anglicanæ Sectæ Errores*, which contains maxims of the boldest political casuistry—a casuistry full of the most dangerous principles of politico-moral state-craft. The same seditious doctrines, especially tyrannicide, were proclaimed by John Poynet, Protestant Bishop of Winchester in the reign of Edward VI. ‖ The treatise of Suarez was burnt both in London and Paris by order of King James and the

* *Comparative View of the Churches of England and Rome*, chap. i.

† The fact that Sixtus was displeased with the work of Bellarmine is brought out by Mr. Mendham and by Mr. Gibbings in his Reprint of the Index.

‡ *De Pontif Rom.*, Lib. V, c. vi, tom. i.

‖ Of this rare work, Hallam gives a pretty full analysis in the *Literature of Europe*. Vol. I, p. 307.

French Parliament. So far as the papal power is concerned the affirmative answer to the following question, which Suarez propounds, contains the gist of his doctrine:

"An pontifex, ratione suæ spiritualis potestati, possit Christianos principes non solum dirigere præcipiendo, sed etiam cogere puniendo, etiam usque ad regni privationem ?"†	"Can the Pontiff, in virtue of his spiritual authority, not merely advise and direct Christian princes, but also coerce them by punishment, even to the extent of stripping them of royal power, if need be ?"

The evidence we have accumulated will be sufficient to show the dogmatic system of the ultramontane side of the Roman Catholic Church. It is argued, on the *semper eadem* principle, that this system still directs the crafty and persistent policy which guides that church in her purpose, it is alleged, to undermine the foundations of political institutions not in conformity with the mediæval idea of hierarchical supremacy. Such a conclusion we are hardly disposed to admit. As a question of the schools, a large latitude on the subject of the papal power is allowable in the Church of Rome. If the temporal or the deposing power were made matters of dogmatic definition, such a conclusion would be the deduction of inexorable logic. [But fortunately religious matters are seldom gauged by so rigorous a standard.] The system which we have exhibited belongs rather to the Middle Age of history than to the present time. It was the consequential result of feudalism, the most cruel enemy of social order that the world ever saw, "because it was equally opposed to the sovereignty of the monarch, and the liberty of the people. Could it have held its position Europe must have sunk into barbarism; but it had to oppose a powerful principle—the influence of the church." At no period has the ultramontane system called forth many advocates among English speaking Roman Catholics. It would certainly be uncandid to cite exceptional intellects, even of the vigor of Dr. Brownson, as representatives of Roman Catholic opinion in our own country, against whom are arrayed not only the prelates of his church, but also distinguished public

† *De Primatu.* Lib. III c. 21.

men of the same faith, who have occupied positions of trust in the councils of the nation. Principles do not always lie hid in single instances, nor do resemblances always argue connections. It were as unfair and inconsequential to quote John Milton as an authority for persecution among Anglicans, and thereby commit the great body of English divines to his intolerent sentiments.*

The deposing power of the Pope belongs to the dead past. Its revival, even if desired, amid the complicated checks and counter checks of modern society, lies beyond the range of human probability. Its epitaph was long ago written in the changed condition of European civilization, which divorced the temporal and the spiritual powers as an anachronism in civil polity. The extravagant statements of Ultramontane writers may now and then create an alarm, but they resemble certain devotional expressions of which Dr. Newman speaks, and which are, in a national point of view, the fervid language of the Italian mind, rather than that of the self-poised English.† It is not to be supposed that the complete domination of Ultramontane principles which we have traced, uprooted those of the Gallican party in the Church of Rome. The temper of the French Church, from a remote age, was heterogeneous, and in its earlier history there was a narrowness and an Erastian bias, which gave it, under the Merovingian dynasty, a timid and compromising spirit. As the base flatterer of royalty, its place was at the foot of the Merovingian throne. In the Carlovingian epoch, it gained in the power of self-assertion, but the influences of its disgraceful servitude during the papal reign at Avignon, clung to it long after the popes

* "As for tolerating the exercise of their religion (*i. e.* the Roman Catholic) supposing their state-activities not to be dangerous, I answer that toleration is either public or private; and the exercise of their religion, as far as it is idolatrous, can be tolerated neither way; not publicly, without grievous and unsufferable scandal given to all conscientious beholders; not privately, without great offence to God, declared against all kind of idolatry though secret." *Prose Works.* Eng. Ed., p. 564.

†*A Letter to Dr. Pusey on his recent Eirenicon.*—Eng. Ed., p. 119. *Apologia.*—Am. Ed., p. 275.

had returned to Rome. In 1668, the Sorbonne proclaimed the independence of the civil power, and the Declarationes Cleri Gallicani drawn by Bossuet in 1682, formed the entire ground work of Gallican principles. It would be out of place here to discuss the general tendency of these famous articles. So far as they regard the growth of civil liberty within the Church of Rome, the result is easily reached. Article first, clearly enunciates that kings and princes, in temporal matters, are subject to no spiritual power, and that the latter can never absolve subjects from the oath of obedience.* In conformity with this postulate, the whole question of civil allegiance of Catholic subjects has adjusted itself, both in England and the United States. In proof of this assertion, we shall allow Roman Catholics, distinguished in Church and State, to speak for themselves. If we are met by the argument, a favorite line of attack with a certain school of writers, that those whom we shall quote, do not represent what is termed the political system of the Church of Rome, it will not be our task to prove that men of such fame are either ignorant of their creed or false to its principles. The office of such a censorship, in behalf of Protestant Christianity, must be performed by an advocate of a different temper. Nor will we attempt to reconcile the views of Roman Catholics among us with the papal assumption of earlier ages, or with the pronounced statements of Ultramontane writers of our own. Our province is to develop facts in an honest historic spirit, and leave their solution to the intelligence of the reader.

In England, as early as 1609, William Barclay, a Roman Catholic jurist of eminence, and father of the once famous author of *Argenis*, defended the sovereignty of France against the pernicious doctrines of the Ultramontanists. His treatise *De Potestate Papæ*, a posthumous publication edited by his son, John Barclay, was translated into English in 1611. Cardinal Bellarmine answered it, and the Parliament of Paris interdicted the circulation of the reply. King James I, tried Barclay's integrity of character and fidelity of religious belief,

Defensio, lib. i. c. 15, 16.

by offering him a professorship of civil law in one of the English Universities, if he would renounce Roman Catholicism, and attach himself to the Church of England. True to his native Scotch honesty, he spurned the bribe, and again retired to France. Such was the man who may be considered, according to a great Ultramontane authority,* the father, among English Roman Catholics, of the opinion that the pope has no jurisdiction in the temporal affairs of princes. The views of Barclay were constantly maintained by the overwhelming majority of Roman Catholics, during the most critical periods of English and American history. The six principal universities of Catholic Europe, in their reply to the three following propositions, submitted to them by Pitt in 1789, show that the pope, in our age of the world, has no direct or indirect authority over the temporal power and jurisdiction of foreign princes, and states: I. "Has the pope or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, any civil authority, power, jurisdiction, or pre-eminence whatsoever, within the realm of England?" II. "Can the pope or cardinals, or any body of men, or any individual of the Church of Rome, absolve or dispense with his Majesty's subjects from their oath of allegiance, upon any pretext whatsoever?" III. "Is there any principle in the tenets of the Catholic faith, by which Catholics are justified in not keeping faith with Heretics, or other persons differing from them in religious opinions, in any transaction, either of a public or a private nature?"† Pope Pius VI, in an encyclical, dated 23d of June, 1792, and addressed to the Roman Catholic prelates of Ireland, uses this remarkable language:

"The See of Rome never taught that faith is not to be kept with the heterodox:—that an oath to kings separated from the Catholic Communion, can be violated:—that it is lawful for the Bishop of Rome to invade their temporal rights and dominions. We, too, consider an attempt or design against the life of kings and princes, even under the pretext of religion, as an horrid and detestable crime."‡

*Bianchi. *Puissance Ecclésiastique.* Tome II, p. 768.

†*The Catholic Question in America*, New York, 1813. Appendix, p. 118.

‡*The Catholic Question in America.* Appendix, p. 117.

Of American Roman Catholic authors we will cite but three. The Hon. William Gaston, highly endowed as a man, and well-known in the annals of jurisprudence in 1834, was appointed Judge of the Supreme Court of North Carolina. By a clause of the State Constitution, Roman Catholics were debarred from public office. The character and ability of Mr. Gaston, who had served as a member of the Congress of the United States in 1813, commanded the respect of men of all creeds and parties. Despite the offensive provision in the Constitution of his State, he filled the office of Judge to the day of his death, January 23d, 1844. In 1835, as a member of the Convention to revise the State Constitution, Judge Gaston opposed a resolution to deprive free colored men of the right of suffrage, and defended his co-religionists against the charge that Roman Catholicism is inimical to a republican form of government:

"But it has been objected," says he, "that the Catholic religion is unfavorable to freedom, nay even incompatible with republican institutions. Ingenious speculations on such matters are worth little, and prove still less. Let me ask, who obtained the great charter of English freedom at Runnemede? The oldest—the purest democracy on earth, is the little Catholic republic of St. Marino, not a day's journey from Rome. It has existed now for fourteen hundred years, and is so jealous of arbitrary power, that the executive anthority is divided between two governors, who are elected every three months. Was William Tell, the founder of Swiss liberty, a royalist? Are the Catholics of the Swiss Cantons in love with tyranny? Are Irish Catholics friends to passive obedience and non-resistance? Was LaFayette, Pulaski, or Kosciusko, a foe to civil freedom? Was Charles Carroll of Carrollton, unwilling to jeopardize fortune in the cause of liberty?"

The late Dr. Kenrick, Archbishop of Baltimore, the most learned theologian of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, and one of the most guileless of men, in dissenting from views of the papal prerogative in the temporal domain put forth by Dr. Brownson in the *Review* bearing his name, says:

"Although I addressed the distinguished publicist, in 1846, in terms of high commendation of his zeal and ability in defence of the Catholic faith, which he had embraced but two years before, and other bishops concurred with me, none of us thought of ren-

dering ourselves responsible for whatever views he might afterwards entertain, as he himself has recently avowed most distinctly to correct the abuse made of our signatures, which are represented as implying an unqualified endorsement of all his sentiments. Most assuredly I dissent from him, if he claims for the Pope any right to interfere with our civil allegiance. With his full knowledge and entire approval, Catholics everywhere pledge and render it to the Government under which they live; knowing that it is a duty independent of all ecclesiastical sanction. However strong may be the language sometimes employed by Dr. Brownson, I am convinced that he does not mean any such thing, and that he, as well as every other Catholic in the States, in the hour of trial will be found the devoted supporter of our National and State institutions."*

In the Congress of the United States, during the crusade of the so-called Know-Nothing party, the Hon. N. P. Banks, of Massachusetts, now as anxious to conciliate, as he was then to defame, his Roman Catholic fellow-citizens, addressed the House of Representatives in committee of the whole, and made allusion to the right of the pontiff of Rome "to control the members of the Roman Catholic church in secular matters." The venerable Joseph R. Chandler, of Philadelphia, was then a member of that body, and, on the 10th of January, 1855, replied to Mr. Banks. His speech is a lucid statement of the position of an American Roman Catholic on the question of civil allegiance, and is the best popular exposition of the subject from a Roman Catholic stand-point, so far as we know, in the English language :—

"That this disavowal of a divided fealty may not be regarded as a mere generality," says Mr. Chandler, "I give it explicitness by declaring that if, by any providence, the Bishop of Rome should become possessed of armies and a fleet, and, in a spirit of conquest, or any other spirit, should invade the territory of the United States, or assail the rights of our country, he would find no more earnest antagonists than the Roman Catholics. And for myself, if not here in this Hall to vote supplies for a defending army, or if too old to take part in the active defense, I should, if alive, be at least in my chamber, or at the foot of the altar, imploring God for the safety of my country and the defeat of the invaders. Or, if the spirit of conquest and cruelty should seize upon the wearer of the tiara, and he should seek to subjugate Italy by improper assumptions, and by crime provoke the arms of

* *Vindication of the Catholic Church.* p. 226.

other nations against his own city, I could look on the chances of the defeat of his army as coolly and as complacently as on the misfortunes and punishment of any other ambitious monarch; and, safe in my love of right, and in the enjoyment of my religious creed, and the comforts of my home, I could say, 'Let the Volscians plough Italy and harrow Rome.'" *

In the controversy on the Vatican decrees which Mr. Gladstone has started in England, other questions than that of civil allegiance have been discussed, in which Protestant Christendom, outside of theological circles, has but little interest. The discussion, however, is international in its character so far as it has evoked facts bearing on the civil polity of nations, and we presume that only as such has it commanded the general attention of English-speaking people. In dealing with the question of the See of Rome and Civil Allegiance, we have allowed no issues extraneous to it to divert the mind of the reader; on the contrary, we have aimed to keep in view the one aspect of the controversy which concerns us as a member of the great commonwealth of nations. We complete our exhibition of English opinion on the civil allegiance of Roman Catholics with the words of Dr. Newman:—

"When, then, Mr. Gladstone asks Catholics how they can obey the Queen and yet obey the Pope, since it may happen that the commands of the two authorities may clash, I answer, that it is my *rule* both to obey the one and to obey the other, but that there is no rule in this world without exceptions; and if either the Pope or the Queen demanded of me an 'absolute obedience,' he or she would be trangressing the laws of human nature and human society. I give an absolute obedience to neither. Further, if ever this double allegiance pulled me in contrary ways, which in this age of the world I think it never will, then I should decide according to the particular case, which is beyond all rule, and must be decided on its own merits. I should look to see what theologians could do for me, what the Bishops and clergy around me, what my confessor; what friends whom I revered: and if after all; I could not take their view of the matter, then I must rule myself by my own judgment and my own conscience. But all this is hypothetical and unreal. Here, of course, it would be objected to me, that I am, after all, having recourse to the Protestant doctrine of Private Judgment; not so; it is the Protestant doctrine

* *Appendix to the Congressional Globe*, 2d Session, XXXIII Congress, 1855. New Series, Vol. XXXI, p. 112.

that Private Judgment is our *ordinary* guide in religious matters, but I use it, in the case in question, in very extraordinary and rare, nay, impossible emergencies."*

And now, in concluding our remarks, we must advert to the calmness of mind and of statement, which has succeeded the bitter spirit and reckless invective which once marked the controversial literature of the two great religious bodies of Christendom. Macaulay furnished an excellent example to our generation in his brilliant Essay on Ranke's *History of the Popes*. The time has come when the rash and indiscriminate judgments which our predecessors passed on the question of the civil allegiance of our Roman Catholic fellow-citizens may be calmly reviewed with that sobriety, that self-command, that rectitude of thought, and that rectitude of intention which are the crucial tests of the true critic. And when the historian of the political literature of our century shall judicially analyse the controversies of parties and of creeds, he will pronounce, that, among the eminent men who have shared in the heat and conflict of debate, none have given to our age more splendid examples of high courage, of dignified demeanor and of refined taste than the Hon. William E. Gladstone and Dr. John Henry Newman.

---

* *Letter to the Duke of Norfolk*, p. 69.

ART. II.—1. *Vie de Jésus.* Par ERNEST RENAN. 13me Edition. Paris. 1867.

2. *Literature and Dogma.* By MATTHEW ARNOLD. London. 1873.

3. *Three Essays on Religion.* By JOHN STUART MILL. London. 1874.

4. *Essays Philosophical and Theological.* By JAMES MARTENEAU. London. 1873.

5. *Illustrations of the Influence of the Mind upon the Body.* By DANIEL HACK TUKE, M. D., M. R. C. P. Philadelphia. 1873.

> "Nature means the sum of all phenomena, together with the causes which produce them; including not only all that happens, but all that is capable of happening; the unused capabilities of causes being as much a part of the idea of nature as those which take effect."—*John Stuart Mill.*

BARRING causes, material and fundamental, the providence which shapes our ends is no mysterious power behind the planet, or back of the universe, but a living palpable presence in the heart and brain of the body politic. The proposition, at first thought, may strike many minds as an assumption conceived by impiety and announced with insufficient deliberation. The proposition itself is certainly at variance with the average thought, and at war with the belief most pleasing and satisfactory to the average heart. The popular intelligence, or unintelligence, reposes in the belief that the direction of human events is under the immediate care and responsibility of a personal divinity. According to this view, providence sustains the same relation to God that sequence does to cause. Such a view of the government of society, however, will not bear a moment's examination in the full light of modern science. Nor is it consistent with the highest conception of religious thought. In the light of science the conception of an intelligent agency—a personal providence—personally

directing the course of mundane events, seems like a subterfuge of ignorance to account for phenomena too obscure to be grappled with by feeble or infirm apprehensions. It is the usual resort of emotive minds, of minds embued with piety and sensibility, but, nevertheless, minds too feeble or too indolent to think on nature with sufficient definiteness and continuity to penetrate her secrets, to comprehend her processes, or to discover her method. To minds thus constituted, all strange and extraordinary phenomena; unforeseen and unexpected events; sudden and striking change of circumstance; happy extrication from pressing and embarrassing difficulties; and innumerable instances of frequently recurring, and often surprising, events in the world of matter and sense and in the life of nations and of individuals—are instinctively and with joyful gratitude, or submissive melancholy, according as the circumstance be well or ill—referred to the direct agency of a divine, or devilish, interposition! The extent to which this belief and practice prevails, in the minor and more trivial details of personal experience, makes it a subject for earnest criticism. The God of the universe is degraded in this view to the low level of a body servant, and made to do service which a high-spirited lackey would spurn to do. Thus a reverend reviewer of Professor Tyndall's Belfast address, writes: "To know a fly, even in its eyes, its feet, its wings, etc., is something; but it is as nothing beside the fact that God made it, feeds it, has his eye continually on it, as he made us, feeds us, and watches us with an eye that never sleeps." * And in his first discourse in New York, after his return from Rome, Cardinal McCloskey, the eminent apostle of Him who advised against seeking worldly honor and preferment, said that "it was his first duty to give fervent thanks to the merciful Father who had watched over him, shielded him from accident, and conducted him in all his journey in safety, and permitted his return in the fullness of health," &c. Such a belief may not be altogether a delusion, but the language is misleading. The same idea takes on other and more ludicrous forms: "Living or dying I am the

* James Lillie, D. D. *Christian Quarterly*, April, 1875, p. 208.

Lord's," says one. "God is my hope;" "God is my shield and support;" "Christ was on the train with me all the way, and I knew he would keep it on the track and bring me through safely," observed an enthusiastic Christian on arriving at the end of a long and tedious journey; "God sent you to me," said a D. D. in trouble, to a newly-made friend, etc. The language of these well-meaning, but misguided people, would lead one to suppose that the God of the universe was their most intimate confidant and trusted attendant; that he watched over their little souls at night, and told them when to rise in the morning; that in all their petty troubles, little griefs and big iniquities, He counselled, cheered or corrected them; that He talked to them in private and sustained them in public; that He comforted them in sorrow and affliction; raised up friends on special occasions, to defend them against aspersion and to shield them against the just as well as the unjust consequences of folly.* These forms of expression and belief have become a serious abuse of the genius of religion. They are relics of a past age and have become meaningless, or hypocritical in this. Many a little erring sinner, or saint, in Christendom, who happens, by a good or ill-fortune, to possess an extravagant emotional nature, trails the great Divinity—

"Through ways that are dark and tricks that are vain;"

the lay sinner on 'change or in the counting-house; the clerical

* "His providence extends over all the works of his hands, and He takes cognizance of all our thoughts, words and deeds; our eating and our drinking, our downsitting and our uprising, our sleeping and our watching, our speaking and our silence; he gives us seed time and harvest, the early and the latter rains, the heat of summer and the snows of winter; He makes the corn to grow in our valleys, and crowns our hills with flocks and herds; He gives victory or defeat to our armies, setteth up and pulleth down kings, rears the infant colony into a mighty people, and overwhelms the empire and makes the populous city desolate; He is the sovereign arbiter of nations and individuals, in temporals as in spirituals. His law is as universal as His providence, and is the sovereign law in all things for all in heaven, on the earth, and under the earth."—Review of the Chevalier Artaud de Montor's *Histoire des Souverains Pontifes. Brownson's Rev.*, Jan., 1853.

sinner in the pulpit or on the platform; the wily pettifogger coaching his witness; the adroit editor prostituting a great newspaper; the canting hypocrite in places of trust; the artful demagogue and eloquent débauché—frequently claim to be on terms of personal intimacy with the most High, and to have been the recipients from Him of personal admonition and direction in their public and private affairs, to the injury alike of religion and the dignity of Divinity.

"We are in an age," says J. Stuart Mill, "of weak beliefs, and in which such belief as men have is much more determined by their wish to believe than by any mental appreciation of evidence."* Religious devotees too often indulge an extravagant fancy concerning events and phenomena sufficiently extraordinary, *in fact*, without resorting to fancy. They seem to make credulity a virtue, and the greatest virtue the greatest credulity. The more improbable the phenomenon the firmer it is believed. They would sooner believe, if it were so related, that Jonah swallowed the whale, than that he was swallowed by it. Rational explanations of remarkable events are accepted whenever they *must* be; the irrational, whenever they *can* be. In their view, a personal providence divided the Red Sea that Moses and the Jews might elude the pursuit of Pharoah and his hosts; the same hand, likewise, reunited the Red Sea and closed in the waters upon their pursuers. So, too, the Supreme Being directed—nay, superintended—the construction of the marvellous Ark which protected the species against the ill-fated flood; subjected Jonah to that unique and most remarkable experience in the stmoach of the whale; that rained fire and brimstone from heaven upon Sodom and Gomorrah; bereaved Lot and *preserved* his wife; directed the wars and rapine of the Jews; visited upon that peculiar people, alternate famine and plagues, liberty and captivity; and that finally, scattered them to the four winds of heaven, to be a reproach among Christian nations.

The hand of providence is seen, by the credulous, alike

---

* *Three Essays on Religion*, p. 70.

in the rise and fall of nations and peoples, in the fluctuation of gold and the stock market, and in the personal fortunes, or misfortunes, of individuals. God is even believed to have held conversations with men, personally directing their fortunes and inspiring their thoughts. It was a common expression among the ancient Jews, that "God put it in his heart;" that "the angel of the Lord warned him in a dream," etc. The Lord was the reputed author of all their good thoughts and wise sayings, and of many of their bad ones. They were devoid of a rational philosophy of mental processes, and, unhappily for religion, could not, therefore, perceive how bright thoughts and strong impulses, good desires and evil temptations, etc., could have any other origin than in an influx from the most High, or His august antithesis, the most Low.

Since the times of which we have just spoken, the average thought on this subject has, happily, undergone some little modification. One hears it said that "the day of miracles is past," and, for a curious reason, that God has no further need of them. Be that as it may, there is a wide-spread belief that a personal providence does not meddle in human affairs to the extent, or in the precise mode that was formerly the case; law, another figment of the imagination, having taken His place in the apprehension of the more intelligent and logical-minded.* A partial exception to this statement must be allowed, however, on behalf of Roman Catholics. A little volume on *Le Diable: sa Nature et son Histoire*, has recently been published in France, and has found its way to the sacred Bibliothèque Catholique de l'Hôpital Militaire de Toulouse, a

*Nothing can be more misleading than the popular conception of a *natural law*. The generality of writers on scientific subjects insist that the phenomena of nature are determined by Law. We cannot but agree with Mr. Lewes that the reverse of this is true; that instead of phenomena being determined by law, phenomena are themselves the exponent of law. He says that the idea of phenomena being determined by law, "must be replaced by the more accurate conception of the *law being determined by the phenomena*. What we call laws of nature are not objective existences, but subjective abstractions—formulæ in which the multifarious phenomena are stripped of their variety and reduced to unity."—*Problems of Life and Mind*. Vol. I, p. 273.

library especially selected to give ignorant inmates of that institution healthy instruction in Christian theology. The library has been blessed and approved by his Holiness, the venerable Pio Nono, and every volume in it may be said to be officinal. The little *brochure* referred to re-affirms, with all its horrid details, the repulsive doctrine of two spiritual chieftains in the universe, God and Satan, each surrounded by an innumerable host of assistants and supporters, and engaged in ceaseless warfare against each other. God, and his hosts of ministering angels and assistants, are the promoters of good and the agents of the wonderful miracles which attest their beneficence. Satan, and his army of lesser, but equally active and more designing imps, prey upon the bodies and souls of human beings, and incite in both the well-known tendency to evil and error. The credulous author of the little volume referred to professes to have the strongest assurance, to use the language of M. Sarcey, in a interesting correspondence republished by the *Courrier des États-Unis*,* that these devils "peuvent opérer sur la matière des prodiges qui dépassent la compréhension de la nature humaine, qu'il leur est permis, par example, de transformer, d'altérer, de transporter des objets matériels, comme firent les magiciens d'Egypte, qui changèrent aisément leur baguette en serpent, les eaux du Nil en sang, et les gouttes d'eau de pluie en grenouilles." These are a few of the small miracles which the devil and his followers are able to perform: "Mais ils ne peuvent jamais venir à bout de produire, comme Moïse, une nuée de moucherons. C'était là que Dieu les attendait, et que le diable s'avoua vaincu. Il pousse jusqu'à la grenouille, il s'arrête devant le moucheron."

The author of the volume then proceeds to vindicate the doctrine, long since abandoned by the common sense of mankind, of demoniacal possession, as evidenced in the strange phenomena of epilepsy, mania, mediumship, etc., affirming that Catholic theologians have positive proofs of its validity: "Tout homme chez qui le dérangement de l'esprit se produit par des manifesta-

*June 25, 1875.

tions extérieures, telles que convulsions, cris, délire, injures, écume à la bouche, est la proie du démon qui s'est logé en son corps. Il a besoin d'un prêtre, non du médecin. Il n'y a d'autre remède à lui administrer que l'eau bénite et l'exorcisme!" Thus making a clean issue with the physiologist and reviving imposture medecine.

We would be glad to believe that this form of superstition were confined to the ignorant classes. But, unhappily, it is not so. There are many intelligent Protestants and Catholics who still regard Providence as the responsible author, if not of small events, at least, of memorable epochs and great calamities; railroad collisions and shipwrecks; droughts, earthquakes and tornadoes; fire devastation, fever epidemics and famine—all for wise but inscrutable purposes. The rise and fall of stocks and the national credit; the changing course of rain, wind and malady; sudden death; narrow escapes; extraordinary recovery from sickness; retributive justice; the remorseful conscience and the penitent heart, etc., are still believed, by no small number of people in the very heart of Christendom, to be more or less under the control and instigation of a personal Creator. In fact, what the gods were to the Pagan Greek in ancient times, a personal Divinity is to a vast majority of the Anglo-Saxons of to-day—especially such as are religious devotees. They cannot but imagine invisible hands behind the curtain of miraculous displays. They almost "see God in the clouds and hear Him in the wind."

Moreover, the idea of a "General Superintendent" of mundane affairs was so strongly impressed on the flaccid brains of our pious ancestors, that it is by no means an easy task to remove it, even when the mind is willing that the impression may be removed. So it is that the *rudiment* of the idea, as Mr. Darwin would say, still continues to show itself in the conduct, and in the forms of speech of those who have long since abandoned the conception of special Providences as a barbarism to be resolutely expunged from the language. The ancient expression, "*Deo volente*," for example, is still in use by the more credulous and also by many of a more skeptical turn, who regard it a mere figure of speech. "God put it in

your heart to do that," is a very common expression in complimenting a noble act. "God bless you" is so common as to be almost meaningless. The custom, too, of calling upon God to bless the repast, instead of expressing thanks for it, before partaking of it, is a barbarism of the same type. The same barbarism crops out in other and worse forms: "I was providentially rescued from the burning wreck," wrote a happy survivor of a melancholy conflagration on the high seas; while he might have written, in the same breath, and with equal consistency, that scores of others, of equal goodness or badness to himself, were providentially doomed to watery graves. In the wreck of the ill-fated *Schiller*, Providence is made to play the same ignominious rôle in behalf of a few miserable male survivors; while a whole company of innocent and helpless women and children, with one exception, were left by both God and man to suffer a hapless fate in the merciless waves! There are those of fair intelligence, and sound judgment on all other subjects, who see—or think they do—the hand of Providence in the contradictory and inconsistent conduct of individuals; unexpected revulsion and transformation of character and purpose; the sudden and involuntary turn of political events; happy endings of critical conjunctures; the rise and progress of the most opposite systems of religion and philosophy, of government and political economy; and who find consolation in the belief of an over-ruling Providence, alike for corrupt dynasties and venal legislatures; stupid rulers and crafty politicians; eminent philanthropists and equally eminent hypocrits; great men and small men; rare geniuses and hopeless idiots. And we confess that in an age, when so many anomalies of this character exist, it is no little consolation to believe that they have a prescribed place in the body politic. The Teacher, however, declared that though offences must be, yet, "woe be to him through whom they come."

But it cannot be that the generality of mankind are so steeped in sin and bereft of sense, so lost to the beckoning glory of a nobler life, as to need the evils of this world as a *corrective, per se.* Nay, such a proposition is absurd on its

very face. The unequalled prayer of the divine Jesus, "Lead us not into temptation," would then lose half its significance. It would be transposing the natural relation of things—putting the sequence before the cause. The ills of this life are, rather, the consequences of ignorance, injustice and wrong doing; and if they re-act on the individual conscience, bring him down on his guilty knees, and compel him to think more deeply on himself and nature, as they sometimes do, let us thank divine wisdom for the fact, but, at the same time, preserve the integrity of our logical intuitions. Suffering and affliction exist no more for the benefit of piety than does an army for the horde of vultures that hang on its rear. Such a philosophy of human ills mistakes signs and symptoms of maladies for their reality and substance; the effects of diseases for their causes; the incidents of a play for the plot. The truth is that neither pain nor pleasure is the real end and object of life, but both come in as incidents by the way-side. M. De-Tocqueville has felicitously expressed the truth of this subject in two sentences: "La vie n'est pas un plaisir ni une douleur; mais une affaire grave dont nous sommes chargés, et qu'il faut conduire et terminer à notre honneur." If the converse of this truth were true—if suffering were really essential to the nurture of piety, the more evil and sorrow and disease and pain and wretchedness, the better. One should rather labor to add to all these alarming miseries of life, that man may be deterred from evil courses and made good and happy. Instead of racking their brains and wasting their sympathies in diffusing light and dispelling shadow, philanthropists should put out the one and increase the other. It would be the wiser policy to follow the example of doctors of medicine and divinity, and be content to make delusive cures with the poisonous agencies of the pharmacopœia and Sunday discourses on the Jewish patriarchs, or the mysteries of the Apocalypse. The evils which good men grieve over and bad men rejoice not in, must then be accounted as dispensations of Providence, sent for a wise purpose, and to be thankfully received and rejoicingly endured; and Providence, Himself, regarded as logically responsible for the existence of much in human history that is

universally regretted by the common mind; and for the character of men whose memory good people will justly execrate so long as the record of their deeds endures. Surely, the world will not soon forget such "providences" as Saul and Herod; Nero and Catiline; Richelieu and Henry VIII; or those of a Judas Iscariot, a Jeffrey and a Wilkes Booth. In the existence of characters like these, the invisible agency of Deity may be traced in the same manner that it may be traced in that of a plague, a labor strike, a chemical explosion, or an earthquake—and in no other way. The causes of both classes of phenomena may all be due to Providence, in one sense, but unless we are mistaken, it is a providence for which Newton's "God of the Universe" is by no means directly responsible. It is a providence, rather, which may be traced to the conditions under which the phenomena occur. Such a providence is manifest in all the affairs of men; and one could no more escape from its influence, than an effect could rise superior to its cause.

For such reasons as these are we led to abandon the doctrine of special providences, inasmuch as we would respect the dignity of the Omniscent Author of the universe, and do no violence to the intelligence of intelligent men. The causes of phenomena, whether physical or moral, must be sought for in the phenomena themselves, and traced step by step through every combination of causes, until each connecting link in the chain of causation is found, and the circuit within which the phenomena occur completed. The supernatural disappears in the process as naturally as darkness before the advance of light.*

Familiar illustrations meet us on every hand. Let us cite the growth of vegetation, or, to be more definite, a solitary

* "Whatsoever in nature," observes J. Stuart Mill, "gives indication of beneficent design, proves this beneficence to be armed only with limited power; and the duty of man is to co-operate with the beneficent powers, not by imitating, but by perpetually striving to amend the course of nature, and bringing that part of it, over which he can exercise control, more nearly into conformity with a high standard of justice and goodness."—*Three Essays on Religion.* p. 65.

tree—the sturdy oak, for an example. Here is a marvel which fails to excite our wonder only because we are so familiar with it. The giant oak, with its shaggy trunk, bifurcating into a thousand forks; its strong branches irradiating from the center to an immense circumference; its countless leaves extending their surfaces to the air as if anxious to catch every passing sunbeam—all quivering under the stimulus of solar impulses—all instinct with resistless purpose—is a phenomenon of grand proportions.

Whence comes this huge structure? Given the acorn, endowed with a principle of differentiation, and the process of oak-building can be traced with a certainty equalling that of ship-building. We know all the elements required, and can furnish them; we know all the conditions needed, and can name them. The fabric of the oak is built up from carbon derived from the air. Carbonic acid is supplied to the atmosphere from animal respiration, and the disintegration (oxydation) of vegetable and animal forms. The leaf absorbs this acid, decomposes it, retains its carbon, and returns to the atmosphere its oxygen. Silently this work goes on, day after day, and year after year, from the first sprouting of the acorn, in the warm, moist soil, until the vast proportions of this queen of the forest are developed.

But this is not the whole of the problem involved. We have indicated only the source of the chief element used. Whence comes the force which carries on the mystic process and perfects the marvellous work? This power is derived from the transmuting agency of the green leaf. The chlorophyl of the leaf correlates solar energy sufficient for the purposes of growth. Or, to take a step back of the leaf, the original force is the solar ray—the force of all forces—the power of all powers. The leaf is simply an instrument—a chemical laboratory on a small scale—worked by the actinic force of the yellow ray in the wonderful sunbeam, by which elements are transposed and elaborated, and finally deposited in the tissues of the oak. The whole process is as natural as the growth of a coral reef, or the course of wind and rain, when fully understood, and as supernatural when not.

The subject may be still further elucidated by a brief examination of the ordinary causes of a steam boiler explosion. Let us suppose that in the fullness of time and the progress of civilization, this same huge oak, which has withstood the blasts of a hundred winters and absorbed the carbonic acid and ammonia of a thousand lives, and returned to the atmosphere an equal volume of pure, life-giving oxygen, becomes itself a victim of civilization, is cut down, prepared for fuel, consumed in a furnace, and its vast treasures of transmuted energy (sunlight) utilized in propelling the steam-engine of some railroad car, or passenger steamship. The furnace, be it remembered, is simply an instrument for correlating the energy of the oak (in this instance), the original sunlight, into heat. This it does by chemically reuniting the oxygen of the atmosphere to the carbon of the oaken fuel, thus reforming carbonic acid and liberating an enormous quantity of heat. This heat is absorbed by the water of the steam-boiler, which it converts into steam, whose force of expansion is exactly equal to the amount of heat absorbed. The steam-engine, it may be remarked, is simply an ingenious machine for transmuting or correlating heat into motion, and presents to the uninformed, or unfamiliar spectator, when in operation, a display unequalled in marvellousness by any that the works of nature afford. Now, let us suppose that the boiler of this engine was originally defective, or has become weakened with use, or its safety-valve impaired; or its engineer has permitted the heat-force to accumulate unduly for the strength of the boiler. An explosion is the inevitable consequence. The heat-force, the accumulation of a century, perhaps, which nature had expended in the form of light in elaborating the firm fibre of the oak, now used as fuel, has blown a huge boiler into shreds and with it destroyed hundreds of human lives and thousands of valuable property! One, with the love of the marvellous, may properly wonder *why* this needless wreck of valuable property, and *why* this murderous waste of human life; but the *how* need be no more mystery to him than the bursting of a water-main or the explosion of a powder mine. It yields to rational interrogation with the

ease of the simplest problem in physics, or mathematics, and at the same time exonerates providence from the baseless accusation of playing malevolent pranks in human affairs, so far, at least, as boiler explosions are concerned. Of this truth one may be assured if one will.

Then, there are phenomena on a lower plane of nature, in physics proper, such as chemical affinity, catalysis, crystallization, and that presented by the varied aspects of the heavens, meteorological—all natural—which are truly of a marvellous character. The inorganic elements manifest the sentiments of affection and repugnance; some of them seem to be congenial spirits, or rather atoms, mingling together in cordial unity and definite proportion, and forming fixed and permanent associations. This phenomena is known to the chemist as chemical affinity. Others of them mutually dislike and repel each other, and manifest a disposition to separate, and when brought together through the agency of others, form, at best, weak and unstable combinations. Like certain friendships, which rest upon feeble attachments, their connections are easily dissolved; as soon as the strain of adverse circumstances is brought to bear upon them, they are broken and disjoined. Why oxygen should "love" hydrogen better than carbon, a chlorine sodium better than potassium, is a marvel which neither science nor revelation can make clear. The fact must be received at its full value unquestioned.

The phenomena of crystallization, however, are neither less wonderful nor more. The inorganic elements, in passing from a fluid, or fused, to a solid state, are known to assume a certain regularity of geometrical structure. The forms thus assumed are, with few exceptions, invariable and characteristic, so that each chemical element, or compound, may generally be known by the peculiarity of its crystal. Thus, chloride of sodium invariably crystallizes in little dices, or cubes; sulphate of soda, in oblique, rhombic prisms; water, in a variety of beautiful star-shape, or hexagonal forms, etc. Nothing can exceed the precision with which the atoms, as if moved with invisible hands, place themselves, surface to surface, angle to

angle, in their proper place. No chisel of artist, or skill of trained hands, could equal it. The designs are as perfect as the process is inimitable, showing an invisible architect—a form of mind, not law—at work, among the rocks of the lowest and crudest formations, not inferior in art to anything which the genius of man has yet discovered or disclosed!

"But," it may be observed, "these are phenomena which proceed from legitimate antecedents. They are altogether regular and natural, occurring within the appointed order and through the uniform operation of natural processes and forces, —are, in other words, governed by 'Law.' It is not pretended that they are marvellous, or belong to the high domain of the miraculous or supernatural, though they may be very curious and interesting, and certainly are very beautiful. It is to phenomena which can be predicated upon no antecedents; phenomena which arise independent of conditions, spontaneous and impulsive as volition, inevitable and imperative as the solar impulse, to which the invisible agency of the Almighty is traced, and His pleasure or displeasure manifested. The miraculous is characterized in those feats of creation which transcend nature and natural sense; in those supernatural exhibitions of energy and design which are manifested in spite of, and against, the natural order of nature, natural forces, and natural laws."

We beg leave, in reply to this suppositious argument, to question the existence of phenomena which do not rest upon legitimate antecedents. "The days of miracles are past," we rejoin, not because God has no further use for them, or because the phenomena miscalled miracles do not exist, but because the advance of knowledge has put man on the track of the causes of those strange occurrences which at an earlier and more ignorant age were generally regarded and received as miracles. The miraculous occurrences have not ceased to exist, only the miraculous element has been eliminated from them. So far from the days of miracles being past, we aver that, barring the improbable and fictitious, there never was a period since the dawn of history, when the very events which have been ascribed to the miraculous were so numerous as

they are to-day. But they yield to the touch of the scientific spirit. The miraculous in them disappears before investigation as darkness before light, or as winter's frost before the advance of summer's heat. That which is *past* in this matter is *the belief in miracles*, and surely Heaven has no further need of that.

"Fifty years ago," says Matthew Arnold, "a plain Englishman would have had no difficulty in thinking that the Cana miracle was true, and the other miracles were fables. He is now irresistibly led to class all these occurrences in one category, as unsubstantial tales of marvel. Scales seem to drop from his eyes in regard to miracles, and if he is to hold fast his Christianity, it must no longer depend upon them." There is, surely, nothing in the recorded doings of Christ, or of the Apostles, or of the Christian Fathers and Ascetics of the Middle ages, more wonderful than the psychological phenomena which are daily occurring in our midst. All the marvellous works, and more and greater, which the divine Jesus did in Galilee and elsewhere, to the astonishment of his followers, are being done to-day by divers believers and non-believers throughout Christendom. He distinctly disclaimed the exercise of exceptional powers when he did those things that surprised people so much, and frankly told his followers, by way of quieting their surprise, that they should do greater works than those he had done in their presence. And his prophecy has been verified. The gift of healing, which signalized the marvellous and sublime career of Jesus, is now exercised by thousands. The deaf are made to hear; the blind to see; the lame to walk; the paralytic to recover the use of his functions; and often, by the agency—by no means supernatural—of prayer alone. Epilepsy is charmed out of people, and madness dispelled as if by magic. The apparent dead are revived, and that, too, after having been buried many days. The ignorant speak in unknown tongues; write in foreign languages; read sealed letters and closed books; perceive the thoughts we think and the emotions we feel; transform material substances and correlate organic forms, etc., and all by the exercise of powers which, in the absence of a knowledge of the laws and

powers of mind, could not but be attributed to the secret agency of departed spirits, or to that of a personal and supervisory Creator. Such powers as these are now known to belong to mentality in its bodily organization; and until the fact was definitely settled we think mankind were justified in attributing phenomena so strange and extraordinary to a supernatural, if not to a Divine agency.

In respect of healing miracles, the medical profession has been cognizant of them from time immemorial; its literature, from the age of Hippocrates down to the present era, abounds with well-accredited instances of them, occurring both in the personal experience and observation of physicians of high repute. Since the days of miracles passed away, it has been customary with them to attribute cures of that character to the influence of the imagination and the power of expectancy on the part of the patient, operating upon his own bodily functions. But what is Imagination? and what, Expectancy? Latterly, however, while not discrediting the curative agency of those powers, they are found insufficient to cover all the admitted facts involved, as, for example, the instantaneous cure of young children and infants, who manifestly are not influenced by Faith or Hope in the royal, or priestly touch, or in prayers. In such cases the curative influence is exercised by one mind over the corporal and mental functions of another, as claimed by Mesmer, and his followers of later times.

In a treatise on "Glandoles," by one Browne, surgeon to King Charles II, occurs an account of a cure which illustrates several phases of the subject under consideration. We quote:

"A non-conformist's child, in Norfolk, being troubled with scrofulous swellings, the late deceased Sir Thomas Browne, of Norwich, being consulted about the same, his Majesty being then at Breda, or Bourges, he advised the parents of the child to have it carried over to the King, (his own method being used ineffectually); the father seemed very strange at this advice, and utterly denied it, saying the touch of the King was of no greater efficacy than any other man's. The mother of the child, adhering to the doctor's advice, studied all imaginable means to have it over, and at last prevailed with her husband to let it change the air for three weeks or a month; this being granted the friends of the child that went with it, unknown to the father, carried it to Breda,

where the King touched it, and she returned home perfectly healed. The child being come to its father's house, and he, finding so great an alteration, inquires how his daughter arrived at this health. The friends thereof assured him that, if he would not be angry with them, they would relate the whole truth; they, having his promise for the same, assured him they had the child to be touched at Breda; whereby they apparently let him see the great benefit the child received thereby. Hereupon the father became so annoyed that he threw off his non-conformity, and expressed his thanks in this manner: 'Farewell to all dissenters and to all non-conformists; if God can put so much virtue in the King's hands as to heal my child, I'll serve that God and that King as long as I live, with all thankfulness.'"*

The father's reason for returning to the orthodox faith, shows that he should never have left it.

Father Matthew, of more recent date, possessed great influence over disease. The career of this remarkable man among the sick and infirm, has few parallels in ancient or modern times. Many a poor cripple hobbled to him on crutches, and leaving the crutches at his door, rejoicingly walked away whole and sound. Cures are said to be effected, still, at his grave, upon those who go there with sufficient faith.

Still more remarkable was the career of that religious enthusiast, prince Hohenlohe, Archbishop and Grand Provost of Grosswardein, Hungary, and Abbot of St. Michaels at Gaborjan. Following the example of his divine master and predecessor, Jesus of Nazareth, he appealed constantly to the faith of the unfortunate cripples of both mind and body, that flocked to him in such multitudes, and by prayers and sacred relics, restored them to health. The ex-king of Bavaria, prince Louis, was cured by this prince-priest of a deafness which he had had from his infancy—and he was of the decided opinion that the days of miracles were *not* past. "There are still miracles," he writes to a noble friend; and in describing what he saw of the wonderful cures effected by prince Hohenlohe, on a certain day, he said: "The deaf heard, the blind saw, the lame freely walked, not by the aid of art, but

*Cited from *Influence of the Mind upon the Body*, p. 359. D. H. Tuke, M. D. M. R. C. P.

by a few short prayers, and by the invocation of the name of Jesus." &c. This occasion was in 1822.*

Dr. Tuke of England has collected a large number of instances of this character from his personal experience, the personal experience of his colleagues, and the writings of physicians and others, to show the influence of the mind upon the body. But in most of these cases it will be remarked, that the influence has been a double one, viz.: *First*, the influence of the mind of the operator upon his patient; and *Second*, the influence of the patient's own mind through the powers of Faith and Expectancy upon himself. And the most skeptical physician must admit that the case must, indeed, be a difficult one that could resist the curative agency of both those influences acting conjointly.

To those who are accustomed to view mind as the governor and director of vital phenomena—or indeed of non-vital phenomena, if such there be—these remarkable cures will seem by no means miraculous, or outside the broad domain of natural, though they be, human forces. Nor will they seem exceptional to the physician of large experience and accurate observation, except in degree; for there is no physician who brings to his high calling natural, as well as cultivated qualities, who does not sometimes, but not always, unconscious to himself, and sometimes, but not always, equally unconscious to his patient, young or old, influenee recovery by the kindly action of his mind upon him. We have no doubt that medicaments often get fictitious credit for the cures that follow their administration; the *doctor* being, in fact, frequently more efficacious than his drug, though he knows it not, or if he does, his native modesty is of too delicate a quality to permit him to make the admission! As the blind believer in the efficacy of prayer takes no credit to himself for the cures he effects thereby, but loyally ascribes the credit to a supernatural agency, so the physician attributes whatever good he does his patient to the credit of the drug, or other means which

* *Vide* copious citations of like character in Dr. Tuke's Treatise, already referred to.

he employs, and ignores his own personal and psychological agency in the matter.

We think, then, that it is a matter of profound regret, that the devout mind should attempt to satisfy his love of the marvellous, by leaving the plane of ordinary observation and experience,—an exhaustless plane for the discovery of divine energy and the display of creative phenomena, which must forever satisfy the ken of his genius—and entering the vague region of the delusive, exhaust itself in the contemplation of the impracticable and fictitious. Where all is divine, exceptions are inviduous; where all is natural, the supernatural is superfluous. Alas, that man's love of the so-called supernatural should transcend his love of the natural, and find gratification in believing that flies may be created from mist atoms; frogs from rain drops; serpents from wooden rods; woman from the fifth rib of an unmanly man; or the majestic earth from nothing at all! Alas, that he could have been brought, by any species of moral magic or pious legerdemain, to believe it more consonant with religion, or consistent with divine wisdom, to carry forward the sublime works of nature on a plan devised by Egyptian magicians, instead of that which human sagacity has discovered, and which appeals for verification to the rational instincts of every individual! Alas, that man should ever have been led to indulge a greater fondness for the miraculous and inventive, than for truth and discovery, and that, too, for reasons quite obvious. The love of the former leads to superstition,—it dwarfs and enervates both heart and mind. The love of the latter is a perpetual inspiration,—ennobling and enlarging the whole man. *Quæ supra nos nihil ad nos.* Indeed, nothing can awaken in a soul alive to the realities of the sensible world, a profounder sense of the divine Majesty than the contemplation of the natural. He who doubts this truth should study the heavens with the means and acquirements of the modern observatory; and if the revelations thus received, do not bring him down from the narrow pedestal of the dogmatic writers, let him study living protoplasm under the illuminating point of a modern microscope. Here, truly, will he find

a world *infra*-natural which far transcends the ordinary conception of the *supra*-natural, and henceforth be moved to worship the Father in a broader temple than any which human hands can build. The Rev. James Marteneau, indulges not in poesy but in the verities of scientific fact, when he observes: "Everything has turned out grander in the reality than in the preconception. The heavens that open to the eye of a Herschel; the geologic time whose measures direct the calculations of a Lyell; the chain of living existences whose links are in the mind of a Hooker, Agassiz, or Darwin, infinitely transcend the universe of Psalmists' song and Apocalyptic vision."*

Let us suspend our belief in the supernatual and hold on to our faith in the *supra*-sensible. There can be no warfare between revealed verities and discovered verities. As truth is stranger than fiction and infinitely more loveable, so the natural is stranger than the so-called miraculous, and infinitely more enduring.† A belief in the miraculous was an infirmity of a former age, to be cured, we hope, in this; and we cannot share the regret which many good souls indulge, because of a decline of the belief in them. The true believer is he who puts into his creed the elements of both heart and head—not the blind worshipper. To him, the idea of the miraculous is distasteful, repugnant, notwithstanding, as M. Renan observes, it was the power of the great founder of Christianity, "la puissance du grand fondateur." And it is our conviction that the cause of truth and religion would be greatly promoted by an abandonment of that which was once the delusive foundation of faith in Christ. That wise prediction of M. Renan is being fulfilled daily before our eyes, viz.: That "if ever the worship of Jesus grows feeble in the heart of humanity, it will

---

* *Essays Philosophical and Theological.* Vol. I, p. 125.

† "Truth herself," says Plutarch, "is a thing so delectable and lovely as if our very life and being were for the sake of knowing."—*Morals.* Vol. II, p. 171.

be because of the acts which made men believe in him," *i. e.* the miracles which he is said to have performed.*

While the scientist, therefore, can trace, with surprising particularity the successive links in the chain of causes of physical phenomena in the formation and transformation of matter, from the last effect to the immediate cause—not the Deity, but the solar beam—and prove thereby the inutility, not to say, absurdity, of calling in the aid of a supernatural, or an occult, personal agency to explain them, he confessedly cannot so easily, or to an equal degree of precision and satisfaction, accomplish this great feat of reason and observation, in explaining the more complex phenomena of animal life—and especially that form of animal life embodied in man. Enough is known of the causes of the phenomena of human life, however, to justify him in attempting to "account for moral as for natural things;" and if he does, sometimes, under the impetus of this faith, rudely enter places commonly held sacred, in his eager search for causes, he does not always do it with a faithless spirit or an irreverent purpose. The love of truth impels his course, and demands the sacrifice often of beliefs which he himself holds sacred; and if he prove an iconoclast, the result is often no less an affliction to himself than it is to the most devout believer.

The causes which influence human life and shape its destiny are of exceeding complexity. The closest scrutiny into the causes of any given development of a human being is only equal to the discovery of certain controlling causes, while the minor and modifying ones, for the most part, remain unknown and possibly past finding out. It is in the infinite variety of these modifying influences, or causes, that the devout believer

* "La différence des temps a changé en quelque chose de très blessant pour nous ce qui fit la puissance du grand fondateur, et, si jamais le culte de Jésus s'affaiblit dans l'humanité ce sera justement à cause des actes qui ont fait croire en lui. La critique n'éprouve devant ces sortes de phénomènes historiques aucun embarras. Un thaumaturge de nos jours, à moins d'une naïveté extrême, comme cela a eu lieu chez certaines stigmatisées de l'Allemagne, est odieux, car il fait des miracles sans y croire; il est un charlatan."—*Vie de Jésus.* 13e Edition, p. 267-8. Paris, 1867.

in special providences and the miraculous feels so confident of his belief, and so secure against successful polemical attack; and that he is able often to defend his belief against the assault of the most astute observer. Like a bird in a thicket, for every position from which he is driven there are a thousand which he can assume. Nevertheless, that the chain of causation within the circle of which every thought is generated and every act developed in the life of man from the cradle to the grave, is complete, leaving no room for special interpositions, there can be no rational doubt. Modern science stands unequivocally committed to this strong position by the very term of its method of research—Induction. And on this position it can afford to stand, always master of the situation. Every discovery which it gives to mankind is a vindication of its substantial correctness.

Finally: foremost among the wonders which the world of the miraculous displays stands man himself, in both the two phases of his existence—health and disease. The psychological phenomena which he exhibits in certain abnormal states are wrongly regarded by the average mind as more remarkable—more closely bordering upon the miraculous—than those which are characteristic of the normal state. A sound man is only an object of envy, or admiration; an unsound one of pity, wonder, and often of awe. Examine the leading characteristics of a man whose condition is in all respects normal: such a one represents the perfection of his species. His form is a model of symmetry, proportion and strength; the limbs are straight and round; the shoulders broad and the chest deep, with a full abdominal development, denoting a strong physique and vast physical resources. The step is elastic and the movement easy and graceful. The complexion is clear and fresh; the mood bright and cheerful, indicating good digestion and sound lungs. His mental characteristics are equally noticeable. The apprehensions are acute and clear, and keenly alive to the just relation of things. The head is large, high, and possesses depth antero-posteriorly. The features are regular and clear-

cut; the eyes full, strong and expressive; the lips firm and the chin strong—all pointing to strength and nobility of character. The intellectual faculties are well developed, well trained, active and in readiness for emergencies. His moral faculties are by no means inferior to the intellectual. But he does not dream dreams, or hear strange whisperings, or possess second sight, or have visions. The keen sense of justice and fair dealing; the kind heart and the charitable judgment; the forgiving spirit and the forbearing manner; the love of truth and right, and the hatred of falsehood and oppression; the simplicity and courtesy of demeanor; the modesty and humility of bearing; the dislike of sham and pretension; and that which is still more strongly marked in him, perhaps, the moral courage in serious dangers and trials, and the strong faith and trust in God and man, under all circumstances, alike in joy and sorrow, success and defeat, all go to make up one's idea of the godlike, and to command the confidence and admiration of mankind. All the functions of a man sound, proceed with regularity and in admirable harmony. Looking at him from the physical, or objective, side of nature he presents a living machine of marvellous perfection for the transmutation of physical energy into the godlike powers of the human mind, into those subjective psychological manifestations which we have come to recognize, as thought and feeling, passion and will, sympathy and understanding, etc. It is wonderful, and still more wonderful is it that all these marvellous powers of the human mind can be traced back, step by step, to the single nucleated cell in the ovum—yea, further back still, to the microscopic granule of living amœba—and the power that wrought upon it, that *breathed* upon it, so to speak, to the solar ray! This fact is a living *natural* miracle of such amazing proportion, that none but the astute philosopher is credulous enough to believe it.

On the other hand, an unsound man is a phenomenon of a less comely character, presenting phases the antithesis, in many respects, of the character we have just outlined. He is sadly out of harmony with himself and his environment. Some ill-wind blew upon him in the bud, and he barely escaped blast-

ing. Some morbid condition was bred in him in the beginning, and he bears it to the end. An evil genius is in possession of his faculties, and he is borne down as by an evil current, like drift-wood in a flood, to an irresistible fate, and an inevitable, ill-advised destiny.

The evidence of this conclusion may be seen in every lineament of his body, and expression of his mind. The physique is feeble and disproportioned; digestion and assimilation defective; the muscular system is atrophied or flaccid, and the form lacks symmetry, and the movement grace. Or, perhaps, instead of this abnormality, the lungs are tuberculated, or the liver cirrhosied. The functions are ill-performed; the complexion is sallow, and the form skinny. The head is large, and altogether out of proportion to the rest of his body; and the *tout ensemble* of the physical appearance resembles, not unlikely, an old-fashioned theologian of the fire-brimstone-endless-torment type.

But, possibly, the unsound, ill-developed man presents a phase of abnormality the converse of this brief outline. The outward and visible development is perfect, perhaps, and the tone and condition of the lower bodily organs and functions unexceptionable. This may all be the case, if we except the brain and nervous system, and yet the mental characteristics be most eccentric—the morbid element, unfortunately, showing itself in a more vital direction—upon the functions of some of the higher and more important nerve-centres, the citadels of thought and feeling. His conduct is not always trustworthy. He is eccentric in manner, and controlled by moods. His mind is sometimes confused, his memory defective and his judgment embarrassed. Not unfrequently, epileptic seizures occur; or there may be attacks of ecstacy, and trance, in which strange sights, as angels, devils, Jehovah and dead men, are seen; unearthly voices heard, visions beheld, and "revelations" from God and spirits received, and other phenomena of a so-called miraculous character exhibited, to the astonishment of a wonder-loving world. Perhaps, in place of this extreme manifestation of nervous disease, there will be the less serious, but equally striking, psychological phenomena

of dream-visions, unconscious speaking, versification, prophecy, mind-reading, healing the sick, and other exhibitions of clairvoyants, and Mesmerism These symptoms of ill-health are very commonly exhibited in many forms of nervous disorder; and it is by no means uncommon to find them, in women, associated with disease of some of the lower bodily organs, as the ovaries and mammæ; and in men, with disorder of the nervous system, induced, also, by some disease of the generative organs. But let the cause, or causes, be what they may, all manifestations of this character are believed to be predicated on some nervous abnormality—neurosis; that they are, in truth, symptoms of grave nervous affections, and that the victims of them should be relegated to the care of a medical adviser, instead of being held up as an object of human homage, and treated as an oracle for the enunciation of divine truth.

The connection which subsists between certain forms of nervous disease and the phenomena of ecstacy and religious enthusiasm is intimate enough to cast grave suspicion on the value of communications reflected through such a medium. If skepticism have any legitimate office to fill in testing the credibility of evidence, if it have any place in the affairs of human life, it is surely of the greatest service here in weighing and verifying the evidence in support of reputed truths revealed through disordered sources. The physicist exercises the most scrupulous caution, in his search for verities, against every possible source of error, lest his conclusions be vitiated and his experiment dishonored. If his instruments be defective the result is valueless. If the crucible be faulty, or the test tube dirty, the experiment is wanting of its essential element, exactitude—scientific precision. The most studious care and circumspection of the conditions of observation are manifestly indispensable to a demonstration in a department of science. This desire for precision and certitude is carried into every department of temporal affairs in which truth and honor have any part or place, or reputation and character any value. Examine the commercial records of business men; the various departments of government and finance; the accounts of bankers and brokers; of merchants and manufacturers. They

are all, or ought to be, exact and fair, and nothing left to guessing. Observe the administration of justice in our courts of law; the care and precision exercised in weighing and sifting evidence; the competency of proof; the wonderful nicety and discrimination exercised on the part of judge and advocate in deciding between competency and incompetency, and guarding against prejudices in making up a verdict, in deciding between fact and fancy, truth and error, justice and injustice. Such is the wisdom of man in the conduct of business. But when he comes to the department of religious investigations, a field of observation the highest and most important of all, and which calls for the highest degree of circumspection and impartiality in searching for verities, this admirable method of research is dropped, and looseness and credulity take the place of careful study and exact observation. Wild vagaries are substituted for well-digested data; fancies take the place of facts; and abnormal phenomena are confounded with, if not actually substituted for, those of a normal or rational character. It is amazing with what looseness of method men test the grounds of religious belief, and with what imbecile credulity they accept as true the most astounding and impossible allegations, facts involving the most weighty interests of the individual and the race, both temporal and spiritual, for time and eternity! They accept the credibility of witnesses and the relevancy of proofs without evidence, more often in spite of evidence; and decide between truth and error concerning questions of more dignity and importance than were ever adjudicated in any court of law, and that, too, on evidence that would excite derision in the meanest police court in Turkey or Siam. The consequence is the amazing spectacle of a world flooded, literally flooded, with incompatible creeds and warring sects; contradictory theologies and adverse religions; and every sect professing love for truth and hatred for error, and charity and love toward their fellow-men; but all animated with the dogmatic intolerant spirit, and only restrained from indulging open hostility against each other, and belying their professions of charity and good-will by the strong arm of the civil authority. The discrepancy of religious doctrines and the widespread dis-

orders engendered thereby are to us strong evidence of their abnormal origin.

Shall we then discard the teachings of Mohammed because he had epilepsy? Of Gôtoma, because he starved himself into ecstacy? Of Paul, because he had a vision and claimed to receive visits from departed spirits? Of Swedenborg, because he had a morbid appetite and was cataleptic? Of Luther, because he had delusions and was haunted by the devil? Shall we reject the moral precepts of the world's great leaders of religious thought, the ascetic of the Middle Ages, and, later, of a Pascal, a Calvin, the Wesleys, a Bunyan, a Parker, etc., because they had infirmities peculiar to genius? Not at all. But, while it would manifestly be unwise to unceremoniously repudiate wisdom, let the source of it be what it may, it would be equally unwise and gratuitous to accept, without a full examination, not only of the physical condition of a religious teacher, but also of the nature of the proofs of such a one, testing every fact, tenet, or principle revealed or presented by him, by rules of evidence which satisfy the cultivated sense. The highest intellectual duty man owes to himself or to his race, is the separation of revealed truth from revealed error. Heaven knows they have been, and still are, exceedingly mixed in the religious teachings of mankind; and that they require the foresight of the cultivated understanding to precipitate the one from the other. The mystery of the Cosmos is to be discovered, not revealed; indeed its revelation would be inconsistent with the beneficent order of mental progress—a hindrance, instead of a help, to the struggling *ego* within us. And when that mystery, so profound and impenetrable now, shall open to our expanded vision—dissolve before our animated sight—we are constrained to believe that one's respect for the normal sight will be infinitely enhanced, and to declare our conviction that that which it will discover will be infinitely more marvellous than those remarkable things which have been revealed to the world through the disordered fancies of diseased minds. Nevertheless, we cannot but sympathize with the views of M. Renan on this subject:—"Though medicine have names to express these

great observations of human nature; though it maintain that genius be a disease of the brain; though it see in certain moral sensibility the commencement of phthisis; though it class enthusiasm among nervous symptoms; it is of little consequence. *Sick* and *well* are relative terms. Who would not rather be sick like Pascal than well like the common mind?"*

*"Gardons-nous donc de mutiler l'histoire pour satisfaire nos mesquines susceptibilités. Qui de nous, pygmées que nous sommes, pourrait faire ce que fesait l'extravagant François d'Assise, l'hystérique Sainte-Thérèse? Que la médecine ait des noms pour exprimer ces grands écarts de la nature humaine, qu'elle soutienne que le génie est une maladie du cerveau, qu'elle voit dans une certaine délicatesse morale un commencement d'étisie; qu'elle classe l'enthousiasme et l'amour parmi les accidents nerveux, peu importe. Les mots de sain et de malade sont tout relatifs. Qui n'aimerait mieux être malade comme Pascal que bien portant comme le vulgaire? Les idées étroites qui se sont répandues de nos jours sur la folie égarent de la façon la plus grave nos jugements historiques dans les questions de ce genre. Un état où l'on dit des choses dont on n'a pas conscience, où la pensée se produit sans que la volonté l'appelle et la règle, expose maintenant un homme à être séquestré comme halluciné. Autrefois, cela s'appelait prophétie et inspiration. Les plus belles choses du monde sont sorties d'accès de fièvre; toute création éminente entraîne une rupture d'équilibre; l'enfantement est par loi de nature un état violent."—*Vie de Jésus*, 13me Edition, pp. 468-9.

ART. III.—1. *Problematische Naturen;* 3 Bde. *Durch Nacht Zum Licht;* 2 Bde. *Was die Schwalbe sang;* 2 Bde. VON FRIEDRICH SPIELHAGEN. Berlin. 1861–1872.

2.—*Auf der Höhe;* 2 Bde. *Barfüssele;* VON BERTHOLD AUERBACH. Stuttgart. 1867–8.

3.—*Das Haideprinzesschen;* VON E. MARLITT. Leipzig. 1872.

4.—*Um Scepter und Krone;* VON GREGOR SUMARROW. Stuttgart. 1873.

5.—*Ein Arzt der Seele;* 3 Bde. VON WILHELMINE VON HILLERN. Berlin. 1874.

6.—*Ein Held der Feder; Veneta.* VON ERNST WERNER. Leipzig. 1875–6.

PART I.

EVERY new era of a nation's literature receives its impulse from the past, as certainly as the incoming tide is the reflex movement of a preceding ebb. Sometimes the new phase which poetry or romance assumes, only indicates a regular and normal growth from the infancy of imitation to the development of varied originality. The United States offers a fair specimen of this kind of development. Sometimes the change appears as a sudden outburst of genius, started into activity by the inspiriting impulses of glorious and novel events; of grand discoveries on land and sea, and when the pride of the people has been fed, and their ambition gratified by great national victories: such a stimulus of the public thought as

ushered in and accompanied the Elizabethan era in England. But, it may likewise happen that a new spirit may manifest itself through the very opposite—from a reaction against an unendurable tension; from a tyranny which has bound and hampered free expression till the spirit of prophecy could bear no more in that direction; as occurred in Italy, when such opposite natures as Dante and Boccacio followed the awakening spirit of their time against the overstrained pretensions of a class no longer worthy of leadership in literature or morals; or, as in the more familiar instance of that sudden outbreak of low comedians of the pen, who came in with the restoration of the Stuarts, after the rigid puritanism of the Commonwealth.

The causes which have operated in producing a distinctively modern school of German Romance are more numerous than in either of the above cited cases. Among them may be mentioned the revolutionary spirit which overspread Europe in '48; and, the resulting exodus to America, which has caused a constant interchange of ideas between the old world and the new. Then, the marked effect on the faith of the people by the large number of skeptical works which have been issued from the German press; not only by such writers as Strauss, but by that large army of historical iconoclasts, with their allies, the philologists and comparative mythologists, who have very effectually pulled up by the roots many of the old beliefs, while they have left the common people with their feet in the air, and no where a foot of solid ground on which to rest them. Other causes will be mentioned as we proceed.

The average German novel differs materially from either the American, English, or French; there are peculiarities of thought and feeling common to the former race which are almost unknown to the latter. The American aims mainly to affect public opinion; the English, to exhibit individual traits of character; the French excel in giving bright scenic descriptions of what exists, irrespective of results; but the German is pre-eminently the analyist of emotions. It is a full century since Goëthe first cursed his countrymen with those two pernicious tales, *Elective Affinities*, and the *Sorrows of*

Young Werther, but the lapse of three generations has not sufficed for Germany to recover from that malarious influence —the same ideas, mixed with new ingredients, still flow through the writings of its most able modern novelists—notably, Spielhagen, to whom we shall have occasion to refer more at length.

The doctrine of irrepressible affinity—an election of the soul as complete, and as irresistible as that which obtains among chemical elements—this search for that "other soul," mixes itself most strangely with the otherwise philosophical, studious, practical German character. It is like that red thread in the cordage of the British navy, which enables one to detect its origin, wherever found. In fact, the German novelist affords a wonderfully interesting psychological study. There is such a diversity and complication of traits, such heterogeneous mixtures of the real and ideal, such curious contrasts between sublime sentiments and the substantial entities of life, as we believe no other class of novelists can show. Love is the great equatorial current of their life—but *speise* floats on the surface, and forms Saragossa seas of *Kaffee*, *Brod*, and *Wurst*, under all circumstances. Even the grand prototype of this priesthood of bathos, Werther, falls in love with the adorable Charlotte while she is in the very worldly act of cutting bread and butter; and he, in the midst of his despair, finds temporary mitigation of his woe in—stewing peas!

When the most infatuated lover supplicates his lady to "live only for him," that means, even to his own consciousness, in the very crisis of his hopes and fears, five meals a day and interminable knitting of socks. This in the burgher class, and all below it, must needs be in reality the case; but its perception at such moments clashes so discordantly with the exalted sentiments expressed, that it throws a comic air over the most serious scenes.

Yet, of what is truly comic, the German novelist appears to have little comprehension; it is the ever recurring hiatus in their fiction, this lack of humor; their wit does not bubble nor sparkle at the best; it only simmers—gently; never attains that uproarious mirth which overflows in *Dick Swiverler* or

Andy Handy. It even strikes the non-German reader, as if a description of what in other hands would prove capital material for comedy, is merely related by them as possibly noteworthy eccentricities, or pardonable weaknesses. Even so able a writer as Spielhagen, in a vain attempt to throw a little hilarity into his many sombre pages, can hit upon no better device than to introduce a series of Baron Munchaussen tales, through the mouth of that veracious juggler, "Herr Schmenkel from Vienna." And, for specimens of practical joking, we find a wealthy Baron sending out two different lists of guests, with his invitations—it being the custom to let each person know whom they may expect to meet—with the malicious intent, of bringing persons together whom he knew to be mutually repugnant. He follows this up by telling the special dandy of the circle, that he expects no friends on the day of the grand party, hoping to inveigle him into the drawing-room, where all the others are in full toilet, in his dirty hunting boots; then completes his witticisms by informing a group of friends and relatives that two absent members of their number have broken their necks fox-hunting! If this is true humor, we have simply misunderstood the meaning of the word, and should prefer to consider it a specimen of very low breeding.

This lack of genuine wit and of the spirit of fun is the more surprising, because the Germans are excessively addicted to all those social observances calculated to induce hilarity and bring out wit if there be any latent in their constitution. One conclusion seems to be inevitable, namely, that if the participators in the numerous holiday enjoyments, are as happy as they strive to be, the *Schriftsteller*, who observe them through their spectacles, are not infected with the same lightness of spirits.

The books, whose titles stand at the head of this article, have been selected for review with special reference to the fact that they cover as diversified ground as it is possible to include in the space to which we are limited. The immensely prolific capacity of our Teutonic friends overpowers the would-be analyst of their modern fiction with a perfect *embarras de*

richesse. No subject of moment is overlooked, or the smallest neglected; and the wide diversity of local coloring is almost as great. The small political divisions which were sustained until quite recently, brought, in many cases, the ruler and his people in much closer contact than will be possible under the new principle of absorbtion of the less by the greater. Hence, in one respect at least, the literature of the last twenty-five years will not repeat itself.

The German novelists, as a class, are good landscape painters; you can see their sunsets, their woods, their mountain-paths; the old oaks, beeches and lindens; the meadows, with their quiet cattle; the lakes surrounded by alders and weeping willows; the mountain torrents and peaceful brooks; the wild heath and the flower-pot in the cottage window; the mist, the sandy shore; the storm that drives the billows far up towards the dunes upon the coast. Everything in nature, from clod to cloud, has been as well or better described by German novelists than those of any other nation. But, though they paint well the surroundings of their personæ, they are not equally happy as portrait painters. Their figure-pieces are not drawn with a firm hand; they are sketchy and incomplete. Personal appearance is the only thing which they leave to the imagination of the reader. We should not know their heroes or heroines if we met them on the street, as we sometimes recognize a creation of Dickens', for example. Our German romancer will tell you exactly what the lady is thinking about; how the music affected her soul, or, "the kiss of eternity" changed the whole course of her life; but, in the meantime, we scarcely know whether she is tall or short, stout or slim, light or dark; dressed in harmony with herself, or modeled after a fashion plate. Possibly we may learn that the eyes of the fair one are *Himmelblau* or that the hero has *Krausslocken;* but a full, complete, clear-cut portrait, with costume included, is not of importance in their view. It is the soul they will exhibit, not the body.

One of the most pleasing specimens of the truly Deutsch accuracy of their description of natural scenery, which, without being wearisome, like many of the English writers, of whom

Anthony Trollope is a representative sinner, is a chapter of Sumarrow's, in *Sceptre and Crown*, in which he presents to the mental eye that charming old district of the "Wendland." This is one of the few places yet remaining among the German speaking people, where Paris fashions come not; where the people are contented with their homes; where they are so healthy that the unusual incident of a slight ailment causes deadly fear; where the doors remain unlocked at night, and stand open to every wayfarer through all the pleasant summer days. There the old Lutheran pastor drinks the strongest coffee; swallows with ease a couple of bottles of wine; smokes his pipe in the full consciousness of a duty done; rates his nephew colleague for watering his cup and glass, and intimates that it will lead to watering his sermons; and believes, like the old soldier, that "if water is so bad in the boots, it must be far worse in the stomach."

This Wendland is a district of Hanover; "a beautiful rich blooming country; not picturesque with alternating heights and vales, or astonishing combinations of rocky scenery, but charming by the rich reposeful nature which its plains and meadows offer. Groves of tall beautiful trees indeed, make a pleasing contrast to the level fields—and these trees are of wonderful beauty and majesty. Beyond the peaceful village of Lückow—and all Wend villages, be it observed, are laid out in semi-circular form—rises the simple Lutheran church; not far away may be discerned the roof of a noble's seat, while to the other side stretches a sandy plain, bordered by massive pine woods, whose balsamic air, when the south wind blows, reaches the cottagers in their homes; and when their level tops are simultaneously moved by the breeze, it impresses one with a feeling akin to that experienced at the solemn beauty of the sea." To be sure, here is only the sky and sand, the trees and the meadows, but their happy combination with the neat simple dwellings, and, above all, the purity of the air, is irresistibly soothing. It is a place where, if weary, one would say: "Here, let us rest."

Here, too, in the Wendland, we meet with a charming picture of the model wife and mother—the pattern *Hausfrau*.

The question of war with Prussia, was being discussed in the family circle:

"Ja Gott erhalte uns den Frieden! sagt die Frau Von Wendenstein, mit einem besorgten Blick auf ihren jüngern Sohn; "welches Elend, welchen Jammer bringt der Krieg in alle Familien —und was ist am Ende der Gewinn? Ein Gewicht mehr auf der politischen Wagschale der einen oder der andern Macht. Ich dächte wenn Jeder darauf sinnen würde in seinem Haus glücklich und zufrieden zu sein, und Diejenigen glücklich und zufrieden zu machene, welche sein Wirkungskreis berührt, so würde die Welt besser bestellt sein, als wenn man sich um Dinge stritte und schlüge, die dem wahren menschlichen Glück doch so unendlich fern liegen.

"Da haben wir's meine liebe Hausfrau," lachte der Oberamtmann, "was Ihr Haus Ihr Küche und Ihren Keller nicht berührt, das ist unnütz und schädlich, und ging es nach Ihren so würde das ganze Staatsleben eim grossen Familienhaushalt; und die ganze Politik würde in eine abgelegene Polterkammer zurückgelegt."

But this sort of Frau though they may be numerous in real life, rarely appear in the German novel—their women are mostly of another stamp; a thoroughly national trait is the extreme rapidity with which they conceive, and express a passion. Had strangers written of their women as Spielhagen and others have done, we should have presumed them to be slanderers; but we cannot suppose that the leading novelists of a nation would wish to throw a stigma upon their countrywomen; in fact, so far from this being the case, these writers give no sign that they consider this effusion of feeling as either indelicate, or reprehensible. Take for instance the leading female characters in *Problematische Naturen*, and its sequel; one lady Baroness, whose marriage has proved unhappy, at the second interview with a stranger surrenders at discretion, and has herself prepared the way for an unrestricted interchange of love passages; another lady, moving in the highest circle, meets a party at a ball, and, in a couple of hours finds herself irretrievably in love, entraps her game into a secluded corner, and actually extorts from him a declaration of affection, under penalty of fainting and making a scene. Still another, represented as exceptionally proud, looking upon the lower classes as one might upon a flock of sheep, without personality

or recognizable distinctions; this very paragon of self-sufficiency permits herself in a few casual interviews with her brother's tutor, a presumed plebeian, to discard a wealthy lover on his account, even before she is sure of her conquest.

Then another peculiarity attributed to refined gentle women in these novels is the habit of discussing certain subjects with their lovers, which would not be tolerated for an instant by an American lady. Take as an example, the conduct of Lieut. Von Stielen, in *Um Scepter und Krone*, who begs a rose—the symbol of purity and truth, from his fiancée, on the ground that he was "now worthy of it." Why? Because he had a few hours before broken off a liaison with a notorious fast beauty; not from any moral conviction of wrong, but from jealousy. And he dares to give this reason to his prospective wife! This is a curious revelation in regard to the supposed greater reserve of young ladies in Europe, as compared with our own social habits. But not only is the natural temperament of the German different from that of any other race, but the numerous geographical and political divisions have furnished society there, and the novel writers in particular, with a superabundance of varied interests such as can scarcely be imagined in a more homogeneous country like England or France. In the former, as in the latter, there are class distinctions, but they are all Englishmen, or all Frenchmen, nevertheless; and the only vital difference in England is between the educated and uneducated; while in France, the division may nearly be drawn as Parisian and Provincial. In Germany, however, almost every ten square miles of earth has a separate history, affections, affiliations and interests. These infinitesimal political divisions are one cause of the German novel being so plentifully strewn with Kings, Princes, Counts, Barons, etc. Just as our third-rate literature bristles all over with Generals, Brigadiers and Majors. In *Sceptre and Crown*, we get a full insight into this peculiarity of the great German speaking people.

Then, too, Germany has had upon her eastern borders, for nearly half a century, the constant example of an oppressed people ever and anon rising against their powerful masters,

and reasserting their right to national existence. This has compelled them to think of their own political rights, and to measure their own governments by the light of revolutionary standards.

Another influence peculiar to this people may be noted in the philosophical spirit of their universities; for we find, as a rule, that their novelists are University men, and from their attendance upon more or less pantheistic Professors, have derived a tendency to discuss the problems of life from a philosophical rather than a purely Christian stand-point.

Add to all these influences, that of marked sectarian differences, and surely it is no surprise if the witches cauldron sometimes boils and bubbles bravely. When after the long religious wars the inhabitants of Germany were parcelled out according to the religion of their great or petty rulers, it must necessarily have occurred that many Lutherans would find themselves included among the subjects of a Catholic Prince, and *vice versa*. For a while this state of things would naturally create a bitterness of which we, to whom our neighbors' opinions are their own concern only, know nothing. But, happily, if we may judge from the spirit of the most popular novelists of the present day, this forced proximity of different faiths has wrought in social life, if not in political, a very general spirit of toleration—the people have learned by experience that all good neighborly qualities may be exercised by persons of the most opposite opinions; and there is a manifest effort by not a few romancers to extend this sort of charity to the Jews, as well as to the Christian sects.

In regard to the subdivisions of royalty, Sumarrow's work gives us a very pleasing view of the small kingdom of Hanover—where he introduces us to the king as he appeared, just preceding and through the stormy events of the last contest between Prussia and Austria. He shows us the sovereign's simple, honest, pious ways, and the ease with which in his leisure hours he could be approached by his people. To those who imagine that all the subjects of a monarchy must necessarily feel oppressed and discontented it would be a revelation to read the expressions of the old Pfarrer of the village of

Lückow, who has just incidentally met, personally applied for, and received a favor from the king:

"How glorious it is," he says, "that an anointed ruler, with one word, can make a person so happy; the subjects of our good king are not looked down upon as mere tax-payers, but as feeling beings with warm, beating hearts; and he meets and responds to them with human feeling and intelligence. O, how different it is in a Republic! There rules the law, in dead printed letters—the cold majority—the Accident!"

But there is a reverse to this beautiful medal, and we find it in the poor weary courtier, who meets a fellow victim in the ante-chamber of the king who was "occupied" when he arrived. "The General threw himself with a heavy sigh into an arm chair, then turning to his companion in misery he asked: 'how long do you suppose, my dear Councillor, that I have waited in my life?'" Herr Meding shrugged his shoulders, as much as to say, how can I possibly tell? "Eight years, seven months, three weeks and four days," continued the General; "I have the account in a little book ever since my first attendance at court; people call me sixty-eight years old; it is not true. I have *lived* only fifty-nine years, five months one week and three days—the rest I have *waited*."

Of the German susceptibility to music this author furnishes two curious incidents; and if we are not obliged to receive them as actual occurrences, they equally well exemplify the writer's recognition of this national trait. A scene in the official residence of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, at Berlin, represents Bismarck in deep reflection over the growing complications with Austria, previous to those "short, sharp and decisive" battles of '66. He has hitherto been unable to decide in his own mind whether to throw down the gauntlet, without first having obtained a treaty of neutrality from Hanover and Hesse, when suddenly his adjutant, a very skillful performer, commences to play a refraine, and then a sonata upon the piano, and at last strikes up Beethoven's "*Marcia funebre sulla morte d'un Eroe.*" As the magnificent theme is unrolled, the great statesman rises from his gloomy perplexities; his bosom expands, he inhales as it were the

spirit of the composition—he will do, dare, and die if need be. He is decided. Prussia shall seize by force her true position as the head of the German States; the spirit of the great Frederick is upon him; on the spot he writes a dispatch, recalling the Prussian Ambassador from Vienna. War is declared.

In curious correspondence with this supposed effect of music on the great diplomat is a cotemporary event in Austria. Here a certain Princess attached to the court has given an operatic entertainment. The representation being that of Schiller's *Camp of Wallenstein*, with its stirring military music. In describing its effects upon the courtiers the Princess says: "The spirit of the old powerful Austria rose as one man at clash of arms; and if the Swedish bugles had blown just then, the whole company would have rushed to horse and ridden straight against our enemies in the very spirit of their ancestors."

Nevertheless, all the accompanying incidents of the story, especially affecting the lower classes, show that, despite the influence of music, the people of lower Saxony, as also the north German people, are very slow to arouse themselves to action. They are not politicians; and sudden events stun them. Left to themselves they would be long in forming a resolution; but given a key-note and a leader, with a few flaming appeals to their patriotism, and you may then awaken that "furore teutonic" which Cæsar recognized 1,900 years ago.

With the appearance of *Problematische Naturen*, and its sequel, *Durch Nacht zum Licht*, Spielhagen took his place, if not at the head, certainly as the peer of any romance writer in Germany. He might with much truth be called the psychological historian of his time, though his gallery of portraits would show striking omissions and deficiencies; and, if his readers have possibly not been quite as numerous as Auerbach's, it is simply because he deals with subjects and with mixed characters not so readily understood outside of the circle in which such people have lived and moved—namely, the ultra-transcendental. The battles of pessimists and opti-

mists, of the conservatives and radicals, are fought through his pages; while around the standards of his allies may be seen the various bands of epicurians, fatalists and the worshippers of Spinoza; with here and there a little plain common sense to relieve the incertitude of the dwellers in the air—or as they would say, in the Ideal. The leading character, Oswald, or more formally, Dr. Stein, a teacher of languages, is a strange, but not impossible mélange of qualities. This young man, standing alone in the world, with no known relatives, adopts the melancholy pessimist views of his teacher, and makes his début in the story as tutor in the noble family of Greenwitz. Possessed of an immense stock of innate pride, a handsome person and fascinating manners, a very susceptible and passionate nature, he feels that such sort of servitude is unfit for him, and has only accepted the position at the instigation of his revered friend, Prof. Berger, who, as it eventually appears, has simply recommended it, that his pupil friend may learn as early as possible, that there is "nothing in life," even among the highest and most favorite classes, "which is not despicable."

Here Oswald encounters the usual fate of the handsome plebeian in contact with the lady Baroness, who accepts her position in life, as did the ancient king—as by the grace of God and Divine Right; looking upon all below herself in rank as mere instruments for her service. An immediate and strong attachment to a young lad in the family, one of his pupils, alone induces Oswald to retain his place. But rapidly new motives are added in a remarkable series of conquests, none of which were initiated by himself. At the old Baron's request, Oswald receives invitations to the balls and parties of the most select circles in the neighborhood, where nearly every one but himself is the bearer of an hereditary title. At the first ball Miss Breerson completely forces herself into his arms, and at the second deliberately offers herself to him—which offer he only declines because he is already entangled in a *liaison* with the beautiful Frau of Berkow, whose unhappy husband is the inmate of a lunatic asylum. Embarrassed with these two loves, he still, in the course of a few months, allows himself to become more seriously impressed with the haughty

daughter of the house, Helen of Greenwitz, who is brought home from boarding-school for the purpose of marrying a worn-out *roué* to save the entail of an estate, and who, though marble to all others, allows the tutor to see that he is not indifferent to her. The progress of this affair is, however, brought to an untimely end by Oswald's duel with the expectant bridegroom, which obliges the former to leave Greenwitz forever. During all this inconsistent and contemporaneous wooing, Oswald is still represented as deeply reflecting on the true meaning of life, and filled with an ideal of manliness which shows little enough in his conduct; but the excuse which he cannot furnish for himself is spoken by his semi-friend and rival in the affections of the lady Berkow, Baron Oldenburg:

"He, Oswald, is not unworthy, but he is not quite worthy of you. He is marvellously susceptible for all that is beautiful and graceful, and so he adores you. But this very intense susceptibility makes it very difficult for him not to forget a fair and lovely object for one which is still fairer and lovelier. He cannot be content. He is a poet, and hence, really loves only the ideal. He is capable of pushing aside the most precious jewel with contempt if his sharp eye should notice the slightest flaw." Oldenburg himself had persistently wooed the lady from boyhood to middle age, living a very fast life at the same time.

The truth in regard to Oswald seems to be that he was infected with that fatal disease known in Germany as "the longing for the Blue Flower;" was ever thinking that he had found it, ever discovering his mistake, and throwing his bud of hope away. This Blue Flower has never yet been seen by mortal eye, though its fragrance fills the whole world:

"Not every creature is delicately enough formed to perceive the perfume, but the nightingale is intoxicated with it, when she sings and sobs, and sighs in the moonlight, or at early day-break; and all foolish men have been, and are, drunk with it, when they cry out, in prose or poetry, to Heaven, pouring out their sorrows and their everlasting longings And all the countless dumb millions, who feel after the Higher, but to whom the gift is denied to utter what they suffer, and who can only look up to the unanswer-

ing heavens in pitiful silence. Ah! there is no cure for that malady—they will die seeking the Blue Flower!"

But, in spite of this longing for the higher, Oswald really falls into the courses of the lower. After a brief, fiery and uncertain friendship with the cunning, plotting, dishonest epicure Timm, he elopes with the wife of the Baron Cloten, the whilom Emily Breerson, is abandoned by her, and finally re-appears on the barricades of Berlin, in the summer of '48, where he meets his death, fighting for Freedom; and, in the opinion of the author, thus expiating all his follies and weaknesses—for nothing here is called crime, except the oppression of the people by the nobles. By his side dies too the old Professor Berger, who, after a voluntary residence in a lunatic asylum, finds his best exponent of life among a troup of rope-dancers; but finally is content to die if he "can only breathe one full draught of free air in his native land." A curious thread, not of gold, but crime-stained and black, runs through this romance. One of the army officers killed at this same barricade, while trying to force it, is one Prince Waldenburg, the most ultra embodiment of ruthless pride and iron despotism which it is possible to conceive of. He is Russian by birth—and we may here remark that when the German novelists wish to present a striking pattern of cruelty, they usually select a native of Russia.

This Prince Waldenburg has come to Germany for the sake of receiving an inheritance from a collateral relative, and has entered the Prussian army; but, as at that time he hears, on all sides, the popular demand for a constitutional government, he seriously debates in his own mind whether he could retain his self-respect and continue in the service of a king, who acknowledged any part of his prerogatives to be derived from the people. Among other of his pet ideas, the Prince maintained that the military was the most noble and valuable profession in the world, because it protected all the others, and allowed teachers, merchants and laborers to pursue their occupations in security and peace, which they could not do if not watched over by the army. And, further, he argued that the officers of the army should invariably be of noble blood,

because otherwise they would be apt to hesitate, in case of an *émeute*, to fire upon the populace, which would be perhaps composed of their sons and brothers. This party finds his Nemesis at the end of the story, when he learns, to his horror and dismay, that the miserable, gouty, painted, titled old dandy whom he has called father, was not entitled to that honor, in fact, his noble mother, given in marriage by the Emperor Alexander without her consent, to the unscrupulous count, informs her son that an escapade of her early married life had provided him, like many others of the Russian nobility, with a more vigorous and healthy plebeian parent. And here is the key-note of the whole theory of the book, as touching the doctrine of a visible and real superiority in the upper classes; for no one had discovered the taint of ignoble blood in the Prince; nor, on the other hand, had any one suspected the presence of noble blood in the veins of Oswald Stein, though his unacknowledged father was a former Baron of Greenwitz. All these, and some other very unhealthy characters, are relieved by the introduction of an excellent old physician, who has every virtue except that of taking care of his money, his sensible daughter and excellent son-in-law, who has solved the problem of life for himself by keeping too busy in his profession to think about it. Then there is interwoven a complete side romance, of which Baron Oldenburg and the little Czika, child of a Gipsey, are the central characters. Intermixed with the whole, are certain professors, representing different shades of opinion, who meet with their families at æsthetic tea-parties, many of them authors of renown—at least within a limited circle of learned readers, and where the names of Sophocles, Euripides, Spinoza, Kant, Goëthe, the Humanities, etc., drop from the lips of young ladies as easy as snow-flakes from the sky! Then there is a description of the poetess Mrs. Primula Jager, who is insulted at an amateur-dramatic reading of the *Death of Wallenstein*, by being assigned the part of a murderer, and who subsequently establishes a "Lyric Club," in opposition to the "Dramatic." This married Primula, the authoress of *Cornflowers*, is so apt a scholar of the affinity school that she not only assists Emily,

the wife of Cloten, to elope with Oswald, but writes a passionate lyric, in honor of the event, *On the successful flight of two souls who dare to be free.*

In a subsequent work of Spielhagen's, *Was die Schwalbe sang*, a similar incident occurs, where a respectable married lady assists the hero of the story in enticing away the wife of a man who was "unworthy of her"—though in what her worth consists it is difficult to ascertain. This hero, an artist, had spent ten years of brooding over his lost love, who had simply preferred to marry a richer man than himself. Even travelling had not sufficed to dissipate his remembrance, or his love, and he returns to his native place just as the first spring swallows are twittering and singing upon every bush, after their return from the same sunny clime in which he had been wandering. "But he did not understand them." This person, Gotthold, came very naturally by his unfortunate temperament. His father and mother, after a few short months of happiness, had gradually grown apart from each other, because there was simply less than perfection in each. These two superior persons, who had so much to offer each other, esteemed this much nothing, because it was not all which their imaginations anticipated. She required that he should not only be the "God-striver," which she had from the first adored in him; but she demanded in her own mind, if not audibly, that he must also illustrate every virtue in his every-day life, without spot or stain of human weakness. And he, on his side, in addition to all the physical and intellectual charms which his wife possessed in unusual measure, required that she be adorned with, one scarcely knows what, mystic crown of womanly excellence, without which all her real charms of beauty and talent were worthless. What could come of such "great expectations" as these, but disappointment and sorrow, and a sad legacy of a too sensitive brain and too easily vibrating nerves to their only son?

The subsequent pages of this story lead us into the sporting circles of which the "unworthy husband" is a shining light, and his horse Brownlock a study which would delight the heart of a connoisseur; and if he at last breaks the neck of

the gentleman sport, it is but meet punishment for the criminal purpose to which that worthy had lately put the splendid capacities of the conqueror of the German Derby.

But the neglected wife appears to have the national temperament, which, as Herr Wellnow says, "is hereditary in the race, is in the habit of thought, in the feelings; ineradicable from the Germanic blood,"—that is, the habit of allowing the feelings to subvert the prerogatives of the judgment and the will—the habit of day-dreaming, and the cherishing of sentiments which, in better regulated minds, would be crushed out, or diverted into innocent channels. Thus, when the old-time lover appears, he finds this gloomy wife with an "empty present, and the look of a lost soul; as of one who had given all and nothing received." Immediately he concludes that an unloving husband has no rights which a faithful lover is bound to respect; and when at last, through his own audacity, aided by accident and the friendly hands of Frau Otillie Wellnow, he receives this lost love for his own, though she had been ten years a wife; then, when he hears again the spring swallows, he understands them; he knows what they sing. And the song was very like this: "With the word love all is said; no matter what other conventional or legal barriers stand in the way—the fact of love removes all other obligations, and becomes, under all circumstances, the highest virtue." That is *Was die Schwalbe sang.*

There is an interesting side character in this story, of an old Swede who has been defrauded of an inheritance, but who acquiesces passively in his loss, because of some youthful sin for which he chooses to atone. The picture of his little hut on the sandy shore, at the junction-point between the river and the open sea, where, for sixty years he has kept a beacon light for the benefit of strange mariners, is a far pleasanter object to contemplate than that of the disappointed young wife, who sits listlessly down to her fate, cultivating no human interest, because the one interest has failed her.

It is refreshing to turn aside from this exhausting atmosphere, and breathe for awhile the purer village air where little "Barfüssele" makes her modest *début.* Auerbach's

pictures of peasant and country life are scarcely susceptible of improvement; and the first appearance of *Little Barefoot* and her brother, knocking on the door at the vacant house of their dead parents, is worthy to stand by the side of *Little Nell* or *Timy Timm*, and is even more natural.

The story opens with the touching scene of a little boy and girl, whose parents have been hurried out of the world a few days before, by an epidemic disease, and the little ones, whose inexperience cannot realize at once that death means eternal separation, have left the temporary homes appointed them by the village overseers, and, with their school-books in their hands, have come to the old home, to see if father and mother have not come back yet. And so they keep knocking loudly at the door; and the little boy peeps through a crack, and the taller girl tries to climb up and look through an opening in the shutter, and first one, and then the other, calls out loudly, *Vater! Mutter!* But the father and mother come not; yet the children still think they have only to come another day to be more successful. That Auerbach has not drawn altogether a fancy sketch, we judge from the fact that he has made real children, who intersperse their assaults on the house door by jumping now and then over a log, climbing a cherry tree, and the propounding of riddles by the elder Barfüssele to her brother Dami. Death is a sorrow which young children rarely understand, and the truth of this picture is exquisite.

By rapid steps these children, in their separated homes, learn that they must henceforth work out their destiny unaided by any favoring circumstances: and, to make it all the harder, nature seems to have put the wrong brains into the wrong body—the girl is thoughtful, self-helpful and active, with her little head full of all sorts of child-wisdom; while the boy is pensive and dependent, with continual tears in his eyes. How faithfulness to small and mean duties helped the one, while awkward blunders, with lack of self-reliance, hindered the other: is it not illustrated every day under our eyes, without going to Auerbach for its recital? But, aside from this, the book is one which could never have been written in America. It is replete with old world fancies, habits and superstí-

tions, and, moreover, lets some light in upon the system which has sent so many away from their fatherland, because they were good for nothing there.

Dami, the young brother, has to be helped through every crisis; but at last, when nearly twenty, on the invitation of an uncle in America, he makes up his mind to try his fortune in the wild woods of the West. He is fitted out, as to clothing and partly with money, by his sister, but their utmost resources are insufficient to pay the passage and the additional land travel beyond New York, to the uncle's home. Consequently, application is made to the town council for aid. This is granted, but the emigrant is not trusted with money or tickets until the vessel is ready to sail from Hamburg; all is transacted through a government agent. Then the emigrant must, before leaving his native town, sign a contract to the effect that he renounces all claim upon the authorities of his birthplace, for all future time.

In small townships and country places of course all such emigrants are talked over and discussed by the neighbors. In Dami's case it was considered a lucky thing to have got rid of a young fellow who was so likely, in case of accident or sickness, and certainly in old age should he attain to it, to become a burden upon the town. It is the custom yet in many of the rural towns of Germany for the night-watch to call the hours, in connection with some pious ejaculation. Some of the more genial sort sometimes indulge in a simple verse like this:

> "Höret was ich euch werd' sagen!
> Die Glock' hat Zehn geschlagen:
> Jetzt betet und dann geht zu Bett,
> Doch löscht das Licht aus, eh' ihr geht;
> Schlaft sanft und wohl! Im Himmel wacht
> Ein klares Aug' die ganze Nacht."

But on the day after Dami left, in place of his accustomed cry, the villagers were greatly amused with the innovation of their watchman, announcing the passing hours with the novel addition—"Gelobt sei Amerika!"

"Gelobt sei Amerika! rief der Nachtwächter zum Ergötzen Aller, mehrere Nächte beim Stundenanrufen aus, statt der üblichen

Dankspruches gegen Gott. Und der Krappenzacher, der, weil er selber nichts galt, gern bei den 'reichen Leuten' auf die Armen schimpft sagte beim Ausgang aus der Kirche am Sontag, und Nachmittags auf der langen Bank vor dem Auerhahn; Der Columbus ist ein wahrer Heiland gewesen. Von was kann der Einen nicht alles erlösen! Ja das Amerika ist der Saukübel von der alten Welt, da schüttet man hinein was man in der Küche nicht mehr brauchen kann; Kraut und Rüben und Alles durcheinander, und für die wo im Schloss hintern Haus wohnen und Französisch verstehen *oui*, *oui*, ist es noch ein gutes Fressen!"

In brief, praised be Columbus for rediscovering a place where all that is worthless in the old world can be dumped out of sight!

In relation to many of these emigrants Auerbach affirms that which witnesses to a dark side of these rustic natures, though it is by no means confined to them; namely, the practice of taking the opportunity on the eve of departure to inflict some revenge upon persons who have injured them; and he adds, that it seems to be a speciality of his countrymen to make it their first business on arriving in the new world, to send back evil reports and all sorts of scandal about the relatives or friends of their old neighbors who may be in the new. Dami had wished to improve his opportunity of leaving by doing some mischief to his late employer, who had reproved him for saving a horse from a fire, because it was insured; and refusing to make him any compensation for his clothes and little savings which had been consumed while he was looking after the suffering animal. But Barfüssele had denounced his intention so emphatically that he abandoned its execution. A symbolic portion of his outfit was an axe and a sack, which his sister told him were provided to teach him that he must cut his own way through the world and save what he earned. But the natural energy of one person can never be transferred to another, and Dami was not the person to succeed, even in America. In less than a year he was back again, to the great mortification of Barfüssele, who now bravely battled the town authorities to secure the future of her improvident brother. It seems to be the law, that if a returning emigrant does not find work in three days he may be put outside of the town

bounds. But Barfüssele argued that every human being must have a home somewhere. That Dami had not staid in America long enough to secure one there; and where could he claim the right to live, if not where his father and mother were buried and his only near relative lived. But such a returning emigrant, sent even partly at the public expense, has in truth no legal home anywhere on German soil.

There is much in this work which reminds us of Ralph Waldo Emerson; many of the sententious expressions and comprehensive maxims put into the mouth of Barfüssele, as she grows older, have the true attic flavor of the Concord philosopher. As per example:

"To go alone is the best carriage; the horses are always harnessed.

Depend on no one; ask for no conditions—not even of God; then you can fly.

No bird stumbles in the air.

She had no shoes; but she walked proudly on her own consciousness.

The poor are those who want what others have.

Why have people thought out fairy tales, if no Prince ever came and married the barefooted maiden?

In the summer the wheat hears only the song of the lark; but in autumn it is beaten upon the head with a flail; which sounds quite differently; but the flail brings the wheat to beautiful uses."

In many towns and villages, not always obscure, there yet lingers in Germany, and crops out continually in German novels, living remnants of old legends, and what we should feel inclined to call beautiful superstitions, if that phrase were properly susceptible of combination. Here for instance, is a reference to the Zalzgraffin, which title was given to Barfüssele on account of her versatile availability. A certain king asked his daughter how much she loved him. She replied, "as much as salt." This the king thought was very little, and was much displeased; but the next day the princess directed the servants to prepare the dinner without any seasoning, and was not surprised to see the king push away every dish, pronouncing them tasteless. "So," said the daughter, "would my life be, without my dear father, quite tasteless and unendurable." Hence, the title, Countess of Salt, is an eminently honorable one.

One of these "beautiful superstitions" is introduced to illustrate the effect which Barfüssele's presence had upon her husband's father, a proud man, who was very anxious for his son to get a wife with a good dower, and a name known to their kinsfolk; neither of which qualifications had the poor orphan; but, nevertheless, the old man had thawed out under her influence, like the flowers under a warm spring rain.

The common people believe, that where there are concealed treasures, a black monster sits upon his haunches over them, but that upon Sunday or Saint-day nights, there appears upon the surface a small blue flame, imperceptible to most, but which a *Sonntagkind*, (a child born on Sunday), can see; and if this child remains firm, fearless and peaceful, it can draw out the treasures without injury to itself. So Barfüssele was able to draw out the latent good qualities of the proud old Landfriedbaur; the black animal in his case was his pride, parsimony, and stiff conventionalism; but his daughter-in-law perceived the little blue flame of unused goodness in him, which had never even been suspected by either his sensible wife or son.

The first evidence of this concealed tender heart, showed itself in a peculiarly German manner. Of course, when Barfüssele has taken to shoes, and married the rich farmer's son, she must be called by some other name. The old father-in-law asks her, "What he shall call her?" meaning, What was her baptismal name; but instead of giving that of Amrie, as most would have done, had that been the correct name, she answers: "You must give me a name," and he immediately calls her *Söhnerinn*,* a ready adaptation of that pleasing kind of terminology so common in the German language, and used in social life; illustrated in the familiar words, "*Liebchen, Mütterchen, Brüderchen*," &c.

---

* *Söhn* is German for *son*. The fullness of adoption could scarcely be expressed as fully in any other word as by this of *Söhnerinn*, improvised by the old man.

ART. IV.—1. *De Originibus Slavicis.* JOANNIS CHRISTOPHERI DE JORDAN. Vindobonæ. 1874.

2.—*Les Slaves. Cours professé au Collège de France.* Par ADAM MIEKIÈWICZ. Paris. 1849.

3.—*Les Slaves de Turquie, Serbes, Monténégrins, Bosniagues, Albanais et Bulgares; leurs ressources, leurs tendances et leurs progrès politiques.* Par CRISPIN ROBERT. Paris. 1852.

4.—*The Sclavonic Provinces South of the Danube; A sketch of their history and present state in relation to the Ottoman Porte.* By WILLIAM FORSYTH, L. C., Q. L. D., M. P. London. 1876.

5.—*Slowanske Starotzitnosti. Sepsal.* Pawel Josef Safarik, W. Praze. (Sclavonian Antiquities, compiled by PAUL JOSEPH SAFARIK. Prague.) 1837.

THROUGHOUT the vast region which constitutes the boundary line of Europe and Asia, we are confronted with a race, whose physical characteristics, manners, religion and history, present a series of anomalies rarely, if ever, paralleled; a race which, while of undoubted Aryan extraction, bears in its language, physique and its character, traces of close connection with the Semitic nations; a race still numbering eighty millions of Christians, once dominant through Eastern Europe, at present throughout its extent the subject of other powers, with which, whether Christian or Mussulman, it is equally unsympathetic, and, except in the petty province of Montenegro, hardly owning a recognized nationality; a race whose dwelling has been for centuries in Europe, but which still savors sensibly of Asia;

a race which through centuries of European civilization has never entirely rid itself of the traces of ancient barbarism; a race, in fact, which, after a long period of comparative insignificance, has suddenly emerged from its obscurity to become the watchword of an upheaval which threatens to convulse all Europe.

Who the Sclavonians were, who for so many centuries were the predominant race in all that part of Europe which lies eastward of the Elbe, and who even now in most portions of that region largely outnumber their Teutonic and Ottoman oppressors, is a question which has long perplexed antiquarians. Their first appearance in history is in the vast basin or *steppe* which lies to the north of the Euxine, between the Don and the Dnieper, which physical appearances indicate to have formed at some distant time—perhaps even as late as the days of Homer—a portion of the vast θαλασσα, or sea, and which, even when reclaimed, was of necessity peopled later in time than the mountainous territory adjacent.* This basin would naturally attract the various nomadic tribes who migrated into Europe from Asia. Its first occupants were probably the Kymri or Cimmerians, who gave their name to the Strait, and in prehistoric times are supposed to have inhabited the Tauric Chersonese. The first, however, of whom history speaks with certainty, are the Scythians, who, when expelled by Ninus, king of Assyria, crossed the Cimmerian Bosphorus and spread themselves over the entire country which they occupied in the time of Herodotus. These, however, being a nomadic and pastoral people, did not remain permanently in their first habitations. When they removed into the northern and western regions the territory which they left vacant was re-peopled by a race called the Sarmatæ. When the Sarmatians came into Europe we have no record; and so little were they known in the Roman Empire, that prior to the time of Tacitus they

* "Rappelons-nous la configuration des territoires slaves, qui se trouvent placés entre les montagnes de la Grèce et la Baltique, de cette plaine immense qui sépare l'Europe et l'Asie. C'est dans ce bassin, dans cette mer slave, que tout le torrent des peuples nomades tombait et s'accumulait lentement avant de déboucher vers l'Occident."—Miekiéwicz. Vol. I, p. 18.

were frequently confounded with the ancient Scythian inhabitants. From these, however, they were distinguished by certain broad lines which Tacitus, in his Germania, has clearly defined. The Sarmatians were a race essentially equestrian; they not only fought on horseback but led a life of perpetual travel, conveying their wives and families in cars and small wagons, which were their usual habitations; while the Scythians fought and travelled on foot, dwelling in fixed huts, which they abandoned when migrating from one region to another. Instead of a close dress like the Scythians, the Sarmatians wore a flowing robe like the children of the East; their persons were full of grace and majesty,* but their complexions were darker than those of the Gæl or Scythian, and their hair of a reddish brown.† Their form of government was more democratic than that of their predecessors, and, unlike them, they allowed a plurality of wives. But the strongest distinction was in their language, which, notwithstanding its Aryan character, differed materially from that of the Scyths and bore unmistakable traces of Oriental affinities.

From these points of resemblance we cannot greatly err in agreeing with the popular belief which assigned to the Sarmatians an Oriental origin comparatively recent. They were commonly supposed to be descendants of the Medes,‡ the term *Sar* being the same which is formed in combination in such proper names as Nebuchadnez*zar*, Belshaz*zar*, &c., and by itself in the word C*zar*—a word of Sclavonic origin, and signifying son or prince. The Medes were one branch of that portion of the Scythian nation which remained in Asia after their conquest by Ninus. One portion retreated into the mountains of Iran, where they formed the germ of the great Persian nation. Others made succesive inroads into Hindostan, where commingling with the primitive Cushite inhabitants, they formed the various castes of Hindoos; while a third, less warlike, or more stationary in their instincts, lingered on the shores of the

* Pinkerton. p. 18.

† Krazinski.

‡ *Sarmatæ*—Children of the Medes.

Caspian, where they intermarried with its Semitic inhabitants and acquired a strong non-Aryan element. These were the Medes, on whom at a later period, the Persians making inroads, overpowered them and united with them into one great nation. When and wherefore these children of the Medes abandoned their parent soil, we are not informed, but it was very probably the result of aggressions from the Tartars who afterwards occupied the whole of this territory. There can be little doubt that a large infusion of Tartar or Scythian blood was commingled with their Median stock. In no other way can we account for the points of resemblance with the Tartars which are as distinctly characteristic of the Sarmatians as their purely Median traits. Their peculiarly nomadic character, their use of horses which served them at once for purposes of travel and for food; their migratory camps or cities of wagons covered with tents, all indicate a strong Tartar element in their composition.

That these Sarmatæ were the ancestors of the modern Sclavonians can be almost conclusively inferred from the otherwise inexplicable points of resemblance which the latter present with the modern Hindoo, a race whose Aryan progenitors were undoubtedly of a Persian or Iranian *stirpes*. The Sclavonic languages, while widely differing from the Celtic and Teutonic, are so intimately connected with the Sanscrit, as to appear derived from it.* The ancient Sclaves maintained the practice of *suttee*, or the burning of widows on the funeral pyres of their deceased husbands. They kept up also the principle of undivided family which exists in full force among the Hindoos at the present day. This joint and undivided family possession was one of the most ancient and constitutional principles of the Sclavonic races, and is still extensively practised in Servia, Croatia, and other Sclavonic provinces.†

The Sarmatians were the most nomadic of all the migratory nations who entered Europe, for they had, literally, no settle-

* Bopps's *Comparative Grammar* (Vergleichende Grammatik).

† "In Servia, Croatia, and the Austrian Sclavonia, the villages are also brotherhoods of persons who are at once co-owners and kinsmen."—*Ancient Law*, by Sir Henry Maine. p. 267.

ments, cities or other houses than their tent-covered wagons, which moved in camps from one region to another, according to the will of the proprietors. They did not seem to seize the territory of others, but contented themselves with appropriating the regions which their Scythic predecessors had abandoned. Sometimes they would be found only along the banks of the Tanais or Don, which constituted their head-quarters; at other times they spread themselves over the entire region between the Vistula and the Volga.* Their predatory instincts were shown not so much in actual invasion as in forays for purposes of plunder. They were, therefore, much dreaded by the inhabitants of the neighboring Roman provinces on which their raids were of annual occurrence, and were almost irresistible, the raiders being accompanied by relays of horses on which they could advance and retreat with unmatched celerity; and their shaggy beards, uncombed hair, and mantles of fur, together with their well-known cruelty, struck terror into the hearts of those whom they attacked. When driven back by the Goths from the shores of the Danube and Pontus, they retired to the north. With the Goths and Scythians, however, they generally maintained amicable relations, and were the allies of the former in their wars with Darius, while with the latter they are said to have united themselves into one nation after the downfall of the Huns. Not until the Goths emigrated from the Danube, did the Sarmatians reappeared. They were re-inforced by the Bulgarians, who are represented as a distinct race, descended from the Huns, and Tartar in most of their characteristics. They had, however, intermingled extensively with the Sarmatians, and with them, were defeated by Theodoric in his march against Odoacer, A. D. 490. These Bulgarians, Gibbon represents as at one time a branch of the Sclavonic race, and at another, as of Tartar extraction, and even as having kindred with the Huns. He describes them as bold and dexterous archers, who drew the milk and feasted on the flesh of their horses, and whose† flocks

* Gibbon.

† *Ibid.* Vol. V, p. 168.

and herds guided the motion of their camps; while other Sclavonians fought on foot. Safarik, who disputes the identity of the Sclavonians with the Sarmatians, also denies that they were of the same *stirpes* with the Bulgarians. He considers these latter a *Bastardvolker* composed of an intermingling of Mongolian and Finnish stock with old Turkish blood. He claims for the Sclavonians a much greater antiquity, professing to identify them with the Enetoi's, a race known to the Greeks in very early times, and called by the Romans, Veneti. His authority, however, for this, is of the weakest, and apparently rests on no better foundation than the desire to establish a more remote antiquity for the branch of the Aryan family to which he belongs. It is certain, however, that after their defeat by Theodoric in 490, the name of Sarmatæ dissapears from history, and in the following century, the people who occupied this region of the Danube are spoken of by Jornandes, as Winidæ, a term the same as Wends, by which the Sclavonians are known in Germany to this day. These Wends he divides into the Antes, between the Dnieper and Dniester, and the Sclavoni, between the Dniester and the Danube.* He adds, that they dwelt in marshes and forests, instead of towns. Procopius, who wrote about the same period, makes a similar division; but he calls the race Spori.† Pliny calls them Serbi, which is the same as the title of the modern Servians. If any doubt existed as to the identity of these people with the Sarmatians, it would be removed by the fact that they still retain the characteristic customs of settling quietly in the land evacuated by their former possessors in preference to obtaining them by force of arms.

In the seventh century the Sclavonians had become, perhaps, the most numerous race in Europe. A century earlier they had been styled by Ptolemy *Ethnos Megiston*, by Procopius, *Winidanom notio populosa*, dwelling *per immensia spatia*, and by Jornandes, as *infiniti populi*. In the fifth century the tribes of the Czeches peopled Bohemia, an ancient seat of the

* *De rebus Geticis*. c. 5.

† *De bello Gothico*, III, ch. 14.

Sarmatians, who had been driven out by the Gallic tribe of Boii,* who gave their name to the territory. At a still earlier date they had peopled Croatia, which to a recent period retained the ancient language so nearly in its primitive purity, that a Croatian traveller, Brezowski, declared that he was able to understand the Hindoos as far as Cochin China, and render himself intelligible to them. To the north, Lithuania was occupied by the Prutzi or Prussians, another Sclavonian race who has taken this region from the Finns, and intermarrying with them, acquired many of their national traits. The Leachy, another tribe, had occupied Poland, where they afterwards took the name of Polijanes, from *poly*, or plain, which they continue to bear to this day. There were already two great Sclavonic Unions, that of Great Croatia, including East Bohemia, Silesia and Lodomira, and that of Great Servia, including Misnia, West Bohemia and Moravia. All Hungary was occupied by Sclavonian tribes, who formed an extensive empire known as Great Moravia. They crossed the Danube and peopled the Southern part of Russia, founding the cities of Kioff and Novgorod. They occupied Wallachia and Moldavia, which had been formerly inhabited by Gælic or Celtic races. Wallachia signifying Gæl or Welsh, and Moldavia, Highlander. And they spread through Thrace, Macedonia, Epirus, Thesaly and the whole Hellenic peninsula, until the historians complain that all Greece had become Sclavonized.† In thus extending their dominions, the Sclavonians faithfully followed the principles of their original migrations. As their Sarmatian ancestors in the first instance settled quietly in their vast steppe, which their Scythian pioneers had abandoned for further conquest in the north and west, so these Sclavonians availed themselves of the overthrow of the Roman Empire and the extinction of the Huns to establish themselves in the territories which these various revolutions had left vacant. The Germans, who had already driven out the Boii, had themselves

*De Jordan.

†"Universo regio, Sclavica ac barbarica effecta," Constantine Porphorygenitus.

abandoned Bohemia and Moravia for the more wealthy regions on the banks of the Rhine; the Bastarnæ had long left Prussia and Poland for the Scandinavian regions; the Huns had been exterminated, and Hungary was free to those who chose to enter; Russia was at the time of the Sclavic settlement of Kioff, one vast wilderness. Only in Greece do they appear to have extended their conquest by arms; overcoming a population already greatly reduced by previous wars. Here the Croats conquered Dalmatia, and established a kingdom of eleven Zupans or lords; here a nation of pirates, with a fleet of one hundred and eighty vessels, became the terror of the adjacent seas. The Bulgarians, who had founded a kingdom on the shores of the Danube, proved victorious over the Roman Emperor Nicephorus, who, relying on their inability to oppose him, advanced into the heart of Bulgaria, and actually burned the royal city. But while he still refused all offers of treaty, the passages of retreat were barred by the Bulgarians to whom desperation had given strength. The Emperor, finding retreat hopeless, exclaimed: "Alas! alas! unless we could assume the wings of a bird, we cannot hope to escape."* For three days he awaited his fate, terror stricken; on the fourth his camp was surprised, and the Emperor and his chief officers slaughtered in their tents. This success taught the Bulgarians their strength, and enabled them to maintain a peaceful intercourse with the Greeks. Their nobles were educated in Constantinople, and during the reign of Symeon, who had been himself so educated, Bulgaria occupied a place among the civilized nations of Europe. He, Symeon, vanquished the Greeks in battle, besieged Constantinople, and dictated his own terms of peace, by which the Bulgarians received the highest honors among the allies of the Empire and their princes assumed the title of Basileus or king.

There were, however, exceptions, and as a general rule the Sclavonians appear to have preferred to extend their dominion peaceably, by peopling and cultivating vacant territories. This comparative immunity from war was probably the secret

*Gibbon, ch. lv.

of ther unexampled increase; for in the first half of the Middle Ages they were, undoubtedly, the most numerous race in Europe. Their appellation has been variously attributed to the word Slawa (glory) and to Slowo (speech), signifying the race who spoke a common language; though, strange to say, it has become in modern times the synonym for the most abject servitude. This is probably owing to the fact that many of the French and German princes had many Sclavonian thralls whom they had either taken captive in war or seized in predatory excursions; and as the other Europeans of the Middle Ages resolutely refused to consider the Sclavonians as anything but a race of Asiatic barbarians, they held them, the captives, in a state little superior to that of the beasts of the fields.

The description which we have given of the Sclavonians is principally characteristic of them in their primitive state, before they attained a position among the powers of Europe. In process of time, the various nations which they established exchanged their old democratic form of government for limited monarchies, which were, however, generally either elective or controlled by the leaders of their armies. All the nobles, however, continued to participate in the government, while the common people gradually lost their privileges and sank into a state of comparative degradation.

We will now briefly consider the rise, progress and decline of the principal Sclavonic races in Europe.

The most ancient is, perhaps, the Lithuanian, for, although the Veneti, who gave their name to a territory on the Adriatic, were undoubtedly Sclavonians or Wends, they have entirely disappeared from that region, having been driven out either by the Roman armies or the Lombards. The Lithuanians were probably a branch of the Sarmatians, who, at an early period, settled among the Tschouds or Finns inhabiting that region, amalgamated with them, and acquired no small portion of their manners, and even of their language. Being subsequently subjugated by the Goths and considerably isolated from their Sclavonic brethren, their language, instead of developing with the other Sclavonic dialects, retained its primitive Asiatic form; and the people, many of the habits of their Sarmatic

ancestors. In the Middle Ages they attained considerable wealth and power; but never reached any high degree of civilization. The barbarism of the Lithuanians, the terrific appearance of their fur-clad leaders, the atrocities committed by them in battle, and their drunken revelries after victory, were the themes of mediæval writers. The separate history of Lithuania ceased with its union with Poland in 1386.

To the north of the Lithuanians were a Sarmatic race known as the Prutzi or Prussians. These were probably a kindred race with the Lithuanians, and migrated about the same time with them, occupying the region between the Vistula and the Baltic. This migration occurred in the course of the sixth century. In the following century they were succeeded by the Liaches, another Sclavonic race, who, occupying the level territory between the Danube and the Vistula, acquired the name of Polijanes or Poles, signifying inhabitants of the plain. These Liaches or Poles possessed a higher civilization than the other wild hordes, and in the tenth century embraced Christianity, and cultivated the art of writing. But it seemed their destiny to be continually at variance not only with their neighbors, but among themselves. At first a mere congeries of independent tribes, they united in A. D. 840, under Piast, a prince of their own choice; but they were afterwards divided into small principalities under his heirs, so that there remained no bond of union between a common ruling family. This unity had, however, a powerful influence on the imagination of the Poles, who possessed in an eminent degree the free and patriotic instincts of the Sclavonic race; but, changeable and impulsive, they abandoned themselves to every political excess to an extent which precluded them from all the blessings of a stable government. Still, they were sufficiently powerful to establish, in the eleventh century, under Boleslaws Chrobry, a great Polish monarchy, which extended from the Dnieper to the Elbe, and from the Danube to the Baltic. This prince performed for himself the ceremony of his coronation A. D. 1025, regardless whether his assumption should be recognized either by Pope or Emperor.

The taste for gorgeous display which has always manifested

itself whenever circumstances permitted, among races of Sclavonian descent, and which they probably inherited from their Median ancestors, was especially characteristic of the Poles; and for a long while the Polish court was the most magnificent in Europe. The nobles vied with the sovereign in magnificence, while the peasantry was in consequence perhaps more oppressed than in any European country. The nobles, each a petty prince, were the only citizens of the country, and were also virtually the sovereigns. With their German neighbors, the Poles maintained an incessant warfare, which even the introduction of Christianity failed to compose. For a while their river boundaries enabled them to set their enemies at defiance; but they suffered a worse annoyance from the Prussian tribes who lay along the borders of the Baltic. In an evil day the Polish sovereign, Conrad of Marsovia, called in the assistance of the Teutonic Knights to expel these enemies, whom the disordered condition of Poland rendered her unable to hold in check. As an inducement, he conferred on them, in A. D. 1326, a strip of land on the Vistula. Here was the entering wedge into Poland. The German Knights subdued the Prussians, forced them to embrace Christianity, and absorbed them into themselves. With these auxiliaries they conquered the Baltic seaboard from the Oder to the Gulf of Finland, and Poland lost her entire maritime frontier. In this combination of the German Knights with the Sclavonic tribes of Prussians was laid the foundation of the vast empire which eventually assisted to dismember Poland, and has now absorbed the whole of northern Germany. The union with Lithuania, after a time, enabled Poland to make a firmer stand against the Germans, and in the sixteenth century Poland was once more the most powerful State in the north. But the elective monarchy being now little more than a matter of traffic, the country soon became a prey to internal dissensions. The dismemberment of Poland, which is remembered as one of the tragedies of the eighteenth century, was, in fact, the work of ages and the legitimate result of its own want of cohesion. This was aggravated by the dissensions between the Greek and Roman Churches, which, in Poland, were almost equally divided; Romanism

being the religion of the country, while the Greeks, with the aid of the Protestants, formed an opposition almost equally powerful. In the seventeeth century, Sweden obtained possession of Livonia, and the great elector of Brandenburg the sovereignty of Prussia. About the same period, the revolt of the Cossacks, based almost entirely on religious grounds, brought on the interference of Russia, which resulted in the cession to that power of the Dnieper and the Ukraine. At that time the King of Poland (John Casimir) foretold with truth how, by whom and why the kingdom would one day be partitioned. The throne of Poland became eventually a mere matter of bargain and sale. Every sovereign in Europe had a voice in the elections; and the final partition of the entire kingdom between three powers, each itself of Sclavonian origin, was but the formal accomplishment of what had been, practically, already effected.

The Sclavonians, who colonized Russia about the seventh century, were probably members of that branch of the Sclavonic race called by Jornandes the Antes, who dwelt at the mouth of the Danube. These had acquired a certain degree of civilization from their vicinity to the Roman Empire, and, when they erected Kioff and Novgorod, laid the foundation of regularly organized communities. But the Sclavic power in Russia was not destined to be of long continuance. They were speedily overcome by the Scandinavian tribes of the North, who conquered Novgorod by violence and Kioff by fraud, and established their own dominion from the Baltic to the Euxine. Still, the Sclavonic element has always continued to exist largely in Russia. It has manifested itself in their languages, of which the roots are nearly all Sclavonic, and in many of the national peculiarities. The Sclavic population abounded, particularly in the region known as Little or Ancient Russia, which was at one time conquered by the Poles and Lithuanians, and remained united with Poland until the close of the eighteenth century, when Russia, in seizing it, merely repossessed herself of what had been her own.

The majority of the Sclavonian settlements in the south and west of Europe appear to have migrated from Russia and

Poland. The Croats, who at present occupy Sclavonia, Croatia and Dalmatia, come from the hilly country about Cracow, which was formerly called Great Croatia, and was the seat of one of the ancient Sclavonic unions. They embraced Christianity in the eighth century, and preserved their independence until the commencement of the twelfth, when they spontaneously united themselves with Hungary, of which they still form a part. This last named region—Hungary—had been one of the earliest abodes of the Sclavonian race. They were there prior to the invasion of the Huns, with whom they formed an alliance, and who severely avenged upon the Goths the murder of Bozé, the Sclavonian leader. They are mentioned, though not by name, in the narrative by Priscus of his Embassy to Attila. This writer states that during his journey he was offered for food and beverage millet and honey, instead of rye and wine, by a people who lived in villages, different from the Huns. The names which he cites are Sclavonic, as is also the appellation *strawo*, given to the funeral feast after the death of Attila, described by Jornandes.* When the empire of the Huns was broken up, the Sclavonians continued to occupy their territory. In the ninth century occurred the invasion of the Magyars, a Turkish race, to whom historians have improperly applied the name of Hungarians. These people came in swarms, which recalled the terrors of the ancient Huns. They are said to have marched in seven equal and artificial divisions of over thirty thousand warriors each, followed by millions of emigrants.† They conquered the shores of the Danube, the modern province of Hungary—drove out the Moravians into a narrower province—extended their power over Bavaria, Swabia and Franconia. Even France and Spain were threatened, Pavie burned, and Italy overrun as far as Calabria. Bulgaria attempted to oppose the invaders, but was defeated, and with Constantinople put under tribute. Europe was at the time menaced by three distinct sects of assailants—the Normans on the north, the Saracens on the south, and the Magyars on the east. These Magyars, or Hun-

* Safarik. † Gibbon.

garians, as they were commonly called, were the scourge of Europe until the latter part of the tenth century, when they were successively defeated by Henry the Fowler, and Otho the Great, and driven back into Hungary. Here they blended with the Sclavonian inhabitants and gradually became Christianized.

The regions now known as Illyria, Carniola, Styria and Upper and Lower Austria, were peopled as early as the fourth century by western or Polish Sclavonians, and formed part of the ancient Wendish union called Great Servia. But this region, after various vicissitudes and changes of government arising from internal dissension, eventually became the prey of the Franks and Germans, who, under Charlemagne, not only subjugated but partially extirpated them, putting numbers to the sword and selling others into slavery. We are told by Constantine Porphorygenitus that the Franks tore infants from their mother's breasts and threw them to the dogs; and that they bought and sold the adults, by means of the Jews, like so many beasts. Such were the manners of the Frankish races in the so-called civilized times of Charlemagne. To this circumstance may be attributed the degradation of the honorable title of Sclavonian or Sclave into the synonym of the basest servitude. Having brought this region into subjection to the empire, Charlemagne and his successors established German margraviates throughout the territory, which to this day form a part of the German Empire; but the Sclavonic blood still boils in the veins of its inhabitants, and the national spirit of liberty continues to manifest itself, and requires the severest measures on the part of the conquerors to repress it.

But the most interesting of the western Sclavonians are those of Bohemia and Moravia, whose history displays the height which these people were capable of reaching while they enjoyed their freedom and independence. Bohemia, as we have seen, was peopled by the Czechs or Czechowe, who migrated from Great Croatia sometime in the fifth century. These Czechs appear to have surpassed all the other Sclavonians in enlightenment and public spirit. Although for some time rendered tributary by Charlemagne, and for several cen-

turies retained in a sort of confederacy with the German Empire, they maintained their independence under the government of their own dukes, and enjoyed the benefit of their own free institutions. The Sclavonians of Moravia came from beyond the Carpaths about the same time with the Bohemians, and resisting the attempts of the Franks to enslave them, formed an extensive empire called Great Moravia, which extended from the river Spava to the mouth of the Drava, and from Vienna to the river Tanise, and included Bohemia, Silesia, Misnia and Lusatia among its provinces. They were converted to Christianity in the early part of the eighth century, and the first translation of the Scriptures, by St. Cyril and Methodius, was made in their territory. In the ninth century that faith was introduced into Bohemia, together with the Græco-Sclavonic liturgy, and a Sclavonic alphabet invented by St. Cyril, and styled the Cyrillian. The national literature now made rapid progress. But the invasion of the Magyars in the tenth century broke up the Moravian Empire. The Saxons availed themselves of the confusion thus occasioned, to seize Misnia and Lusatia and establish German margraviates therein. Bohemia and Moravia, however, retained a quasi-independence, and in these countries were laid the foundations of a genuine Sclavonic literature. This, however, was rudely crushed by the tyranny of the German Emperors, who in their efforts to impose the Latin Church, as well as the Latin language, upon the people, succeeded in annihilating nearly all the writings of the old ritual. Still, in the later productions of the eleventh century, Sclavonic names are of frequent occurrence. In subsequent centuries Bohemia developed both in literature and material prosperity, until Prague was recognized not only as the chief city in Germany, and the center of the arts and sciences, but also for its wealth and the magnificence of its Court.

The Sclavonic language had now obtained recognition, and with its aid the Bohemians for a time surpassed most European nations in intelligence and cultivation. At the council of Constance the assembled fathers beheld with astonishment Bohemian nobility and citizens not only distinguished for their intrepidity, but able to expound with profound learning

the holy Scriptures, which, in Bohemia, were generally read and understood. The treatises of Huss were originally written in Bohemian as well as his translation of Wickliffe's *Trialogus*. The martyrdom of Huss and Jerome of Prague was resented by their countrymen as an outrage on the whole nation. The typographic art, when first introduced, made rapid progress in Bohemia, and the first work there printed was the letter of Huss from Constance, showing what deep root his teachings had obtained. During the dreadful tumults of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the cultivation of learning, which in almost all countries was the monopoly of the clergy, was in Bohemia open to the people. All branches of science were cultivated, and the system of education so improved as to attract attention even in Sweden and England. But the thirty years' war struck a fatal blow to the prosperity of Bohemia. It had by this time become an apanage of the House of Hapsburg by the marriage of the female heir to the crown with an Archduke of Austria. After the victory of Prague had decided the war in favor of the Emperor, the reign of the conquerors which confiscated the property of the nobility, reduced Bohemia to an absolute hereditary monarchy, established the Roman faith to the exclusion of all others, and deprived the country of the flower of its inhabitants. More than seventy thousand men, and almost the whole of the nobility and of the Protestant clergy, scholars and artists, in fact the most cultivated part of the population, left their native country rather than be false to their faith. The monks, introduced by swarms into Bohemia, condemned every rational work as heretical, so that over sixty thousand manuscripts, taken from the people by force, were committed to the flames, and the printed works shut up in monasteries, in rooms fastened by iron grates, bolts and chains, and inscribed with the warning-title, HELL! History hardly furnishes an instance of such a triumph of mere brute force over the spirit of a people.

About the third century a number of Sclavonic tribes began to migrate from the Vistula and the Nieman, and occupy the provinces in the north of Germany extending from the mouth of the Oder along the shores of the East Sea to the

Elbe. The generic title of these tribes was the Polabians, an appellation derived from Laba, the Sclavonic name of the Elbe.* Of these tribes the most celebrated were the Weleti, who occupied a territory in Prussian Pomerania.† They were early conspicuous for their warlike habits, which drew upon them the appellation of wolves, and gave rise to the fable of a northern tribe annually transformed into these savage animals. They were peculiarly obnoxious to the Germans, who declared them to be a nation of sorcerers. Their sway extended along the shores of the East Sea, which was called after them Wildamir, and their capital city was Vinetha, in Sclavonian Wolin, at the mouth of the Oder.‡

These Polabian Sclavonians were all finally exterminated by the Germans, but traces of their occupation remain to this day in various parts of Europe. The Weleti are said to have penetrated into Batavia in the sixth century, and settled near Utrecht, which from them was called Wiltaburg, and the surrounding country, Wiltonia.‖ That they settled in the Netherlands is evident from the names of the cities, as Wiltsween, in Holland, and many other names which are purely Sclavonian, as well as many Sclavonic words found in the ancient Dutch. Many ethnologists suppose that they even penetrated into England, and that the county of Wiltshire derived its name and its population from them.

We come now to that portion of the Sclavonic population which at the present moment excites the deepest interest throughout the civilized world—namely, the Christian provinces which, so long groaning under the oppression of the Musulman power, have at length risen in what it may be hoped will prove a successful struggle for political and religious independence.

The traveller on the Danube, on entering the Carpathian gorge, will observe on the right bank of the river, about ten feet above the surface of the water, a long series of square

* Safarik. † Ptolemy. ‡ Safarik. ‖ Bede.

holes in the rocks, extending for nearly fifty miles, as far as the Iron Gates. For ages the origin of these holes remained a mystery, and puzzled antiquarians; but they are now ascertained to be the sockets in which were inserted the wooden cross-beams upon which were laid planks to form the great military road called *Via Trajana*, along which the Roman legions marched when Dacia was conquered by Trajan.* This region was previously occupied by a mixed race of Goths, Sarmatians and Illyrians or descendants of the ancient invaders from Gaul. They were considered the most warlike of men, and were conquered by Trajan only after a struggle of five years.

After the division of the Empires, the region belonged to the Eastern or Greek Empire, but was continually harassed by invading tribes from the north. In the seventh century, it was devastated by the hordes of the Tartar Avars, who extended their ravages into Mœsia and Thrace, and finally established themselves in Macedonia. To expel these intruders, the Emperor Heraclius invited the immigration of the Sclavonians, or Serbi,† as they were then commonly called, who occupied the territory to the north of the Danube. These Serbs, accordingly, entered the Mœsian territory in great numbers, and, having expelled the intruders, extended themselves throughout the country now known as Bulgaria, Servia and Bosnia. They were converted to Christianity, it is said, in the reign of the very Emperor by whose invitation they had entered their new territory.‡ These Serbs consisted of numerous tribes, and were governed by its own chief or Zupan, but acknowledging a sort of nominal—which eventually became actual—supremacy in a single ruler or Grand Zupan, called in the Greek *Veliki*, but in the old Sclavonic language, *Starjésina*, or Senior. In the tenth century, the Zupan of Dioclea raised himself to the chief power. In the meantime, the Servians acknowledged the supremacy of the Greek Empire, but were under the control of their own Zupans, who were elected partly

* Forsyth, p. 5.

† Usually written S'rbi.

‡ Constantine Porphorygenitus.

by the people. In the eighth century, their territory was considerably reduced by the occupation of Bosnia by the Croats, another Sclavonic tribe, and by the irruption of the Bulgarians, whose progress we have already mentioned, and who occupied the territory which is now known by their name. We have already spoken of the rapid rise and prosperity of Bulgaria under Symeon, and the concessions then obtained by it from the court of Constantinople. In this same contest, Servia was invaded by the Bulgarians, its territory ravaged and a great portion of its population transported into Bulgaria. But the tyranny of the Bulgarians was destined to receive a severe check. In the beginning of the eleventh century, they were conquered by the Emperor Basil II, who, from his merciless severity, acquired the title of *Βουλγαροκτονος*, or Slayer of the Bulgarians. So little was this Christian monarch superior in humanity to his adversaries that he put out the eyes of fifteen thousand Bulgarian prisoners of war, allowing, however, one man in each hundred to retain the use of one eye, that he might conduct his blinded countrymen home to Bulgaria.*

From this moment, the power of the Bulgarians was gone. They were circumscribed within a narrow province, and reduced to a state of vassalage. The Servians, meanwhile, were reinstated in their own territory, and their Grand Zupan Tscheslar renewed his hommage to the Greek Court. The eleventh century, however, was to witness the establishment of Servian independence. Having been considered as a province of the Greek Empire, a Greek governor was appointed in place of the Servian Zupan; but in A. D. 1040, this governor was expelled by Stephan Bogislaw, who had been held as a prisoner at Constantinople and had effected his escape. And when, in A. D. 1043, the Emperor Constantine Monomachus sent a powerful army to attempt the conquest of Servia, it was met by the Servians in the mountains and annihilated in their defiles. Bogislaw's son and successor, Michael, with the title of king or *kral* of the Servians, was acknowledged as such by Pope Gregory VII. Bosnia, in the meantime, had passed with

* Gibbon, ch. lv.

Croatia under the dominion of Hungary, and so continued until the fourteenth century.

The twelfth century witnessed the independence of nearly all the Sclavonic provinces of the Greek Empire. In A. D. 1186, the Bulgarians, provoked by the injury and oppression of their rulers, revolted, and, under their leader Calo-John, recovered their independence. They then united themselves with the neighboring province of Wallachia, a region originally peopled by the Gauls, in one of those terrible irruptions commemorated in history, and now occupied by a mixed race of Sclavonians, Celts and Romans. It had been nominally under the control of the Greek Empire, which, however, was too weak to enforce its claims, and one of its chiefs, Bogden, whose name suggests a Gælic extraction, had recently taken possession of Moldavia and conferred upon it his own name, Bogdiana. These two provinces, now taking a conspicuous position in the war with Turkey, under the name of Roumania, united with Bulgaria and received Calo-John as their sovereign.

The Bulgarians for many years had oscillated between the claims of the Greek and Latin Churches. In A. D. 866, they received bishops and priests from Rome, while only four years later they declared themselves to be under the Patriarchate. John availed himself of this circumstance to obtain the sanction of the Pope of Rome to his newly acquired authority. Professing himself to be a son of the Latin Church, he induced Pope Innocent III readily to confer on him the grant of a royal title, at the same time sending a Latin Archbishop into Bulgaria.

Servia, having secured her independence, enjoyed for nearly two centuries a period of almost uninterrupted prosperity. Although the kingly title had been assumed by her rulers as early as A. D. 1073, no king was regularly crowned until the end of the thirteenth century.* In the reign of Stephan Dushan (from A. D. 1336 to 1358,) the Servian kingdom rose to its greatest height of power, extending its dominion over Macedonia, Thessaly, Albania and Bulgaria.† With the assent of

* Stephan Pervorenshani, whose surname denotes "first-crowned king."

† Safarik, Vol. II, p. 32.

the Sabor, or assembly of the principal chiefs who formed the Parliament, Stephan assumed the title of Czar—a title which, as we have seen, is, in its origin, not only Sclavonic, but also Sarmatian and even Median. One of the distinguishing events of his reign was the enacting of a regular code of laws, in the composition of which assisted the Patriarch, the Metropolitans and the Bishops, the Czar, the *Knieses*, and the greater and lesser governors of the empire. These laws consisted of 105 articles, and though, in some of their provisions, disfigured by the sanguinary spirit of the age, were characterized by a degree of wisdom remarkable for the period in which they were enacted.

Stephan Dushan assumed the proud title of Czar of the Serbs and Greeks, and even aspired to the throne of Constantinople. He overran the whole of what is now called Turkey in Europe, and besieged the Emperor Andronicus in Thessalonica, compelling him to cede Macedonia. He had wars with Louis, King of Hungary, whom he defeated in several battles. In the contest for the Empire of the East between John Palacologus and John Cantocuzene, the latter invoked the aid of the King of Servia. The Czar offered his aid, but made it a condition that whatever towns were taken, should have the option of chosing either himself or Cantocuzene for their sovereign.* The offensive attitude assumed by Dushan had, however, the effect of driving Cantocuzene to seek other aid. He called to his assistance the Osmanli Turks, and thus brought about the "passage of the Ottomans into Europe," the last and fatal stroke in the fall of the Roman Empire.† Thus the arrogance of the Servian monarch may be said to have been the proximate cause of the yoke under which his people have labored for centuries.

Incensed at the defection of Cantocuzene, Dushan marched on Constantinople at the head of a large army; but was seized with fever on the march and died at Devole, A. D. 1358.

With the death of Stephan Dushan, the prosperity of Servia drew to its close. His son and successor, Urosch, was

* Forsyth, p. 26.

† Gibbon, ch. lxiii.

murdered by a Servian chief, and the crown devolved upon Lazar, one of the most unfortunate princes of history. In a contest with the Hungarians, he was deprived of Bulgaria, which, with its dependencies, Moldavia and Wallachia, became an apanage of the crown of Hungary, and was finally compelled to abandon the royal title and content himself with the inferior dignity of *Knies*.

In A. D. 1389, the Sultan Amurath invaded Servia. Lazar appealed for aid to the rulers of Bosnia, Hungary and even Poland, but no effective assistance came, and he was left to withstand the shock alone. The two armies met in the plain of Kossovo, the ancient Ossa, the fabled scene of battle between gods and giants. The Servians were utterly defeated. Servia was placed under the dominion of a viceroy who, though a member of the old reigning family and permitted to retain the title of *Kral*, held his office as a vassal of the Sultan, to whom he was bound to pay tribute and furnish troops for the service of the Porte.

Bosnia, which had fought side by side with Servia, in the struggle, was able to make good its defence, and was not reduced until the fifteenth century, when it was likewise rendered tributary. It even succeeded in appropriating a portion of the Servian territory, which remained subject to it until A. D. 1435, when its chief, Stephan Kosaca, threw off the yoke and acknowledged fealty to the German Emperor, who conferred on him the title of Herzog or Duke, whence the province derived its present name of Herzegovina. Relying on the protection of the Emperor, Herzegovina refused her assistance to Bosnia, and left her to her fate. Herzegovina's own downfall soon followed, and she became a mere vassal to the Ottoman Porte.

Three years after the battle of Kossovo the Turks wrested Bulgaria with its dependencies from the Hungarians, and it has remained to this day a Turkish province. But there was one little principality which the Turks could never subdue. The diminutive State of Montenegro—called by its inhabitants Tchernagora or the Black Forest—is a mass of mountains and caverns pierced by subterranean streams. The territory is in-

tersected by deep and narrow ravines which are held by the Turks and commanded by Turkish fortresses. The unwalled villages scattered in the glens and on the slopes of the mountains are guarded by barriers of lofty rocks.* There is hardly a road in the territory. Its climate however is mild and salubrious, and its soils in some portions fertile. In this little tract, after the disastrous battle of Kossovo, some Servian bands found refuge under the leadership of Strachina Ivo surnamed Tsernoi, or the Black. Here they formed an independent principality which the Turks have never been able to subdue. At first it was under the rule of Ivo and his successors, but one of the latter, wearied with the incessant attacks of the Turks, resigned his authority and retired to Venice, leaving the government in the hands of the Vladika, or Bishop of Cetigné, the Montenegrin capital. The Vladika, or Prince Bishops, continued to govern Montenegro until the end of the seventeenth century, when the government became hereditary in the family of Niégosch. For five centuries this minute principality has steadily maintained its independence against the Turks, who have never been able to establish even the titular sovereignty which they continue to claim. In 1856 it applied to be recognized at the Conference of Paris as an independent sovereignty, in which however it was unsuccessful, the allied powers choosing to accept the assertion of the Porte that it considered Montenegro as an integral part of the Ottoman Empire. This provoked an indignant denial from the Prince of Montenegro which the Turks resented by invading the principality with a powerful armament. A battle ensued at Grahovo in which the Turks were defeated with terrific loss. The result of the defeat was the practical recognition of Montenegrin independence.

Montenegro contains less than ninety square miles and about 120,000 population—less than almost any of our large cities. It has no regular army, but all its male inhabitants are ready at a moment's notice to fight in defence of their country. The Montenegrins are brave, courteous and hospitable,

* Forsyth, p. 101.

and at their little capital, Cetigné, is found a degree of culture worthy any European capital. Women are treated with a respect hardly equalled in any country. It is even said that a young girl may travel from one end of Montenegro to the other in perfect safety, and her presence protects even an enemy from outrage.*

We turn with sorrow to the contemplation of the other Sclavonic provinces which all, one by one, fell in the fourteenth century under the Ottoman yoke. For the last five centuries their history has been one of earnest though futile efforts to recover their freedom. In 1444, Servia enjoyed a short period of independence when the Turks were compelled by Hungarian arms to retreat. But the dissensions arising out of the rival pretensions of the Latin and Greek Churches again opened the door to the Ottomans, who were invited to occupy the fortresses and soon made themselves masters of the country. During the long war between the Hungarians and the Ottomans the Servians were crushed down by the Turks and are described by a traveller of the sixteenth century as "poor captives none of whom dared to lift up his head." †

Bosnia was reduced in the fifteenth century, and subsequently, on an attempt to resist payment of tribute, was occupied through its whole extent, its king and many of the nobility put to death, its youth drafted into the ranks of the Janisaries and numbers of the inhabitants reduced to slavery. For many years it was a bone of contention between Hungary and Turkey, but in the year 1527 passed irrevocably into the power of the Turks in whose hands it has since remained. The worst feature of the change is that a large portion of the old Bosnian nobility have apostatized from the faith and become Musulmans, hating and hated by the Christian population, or rayas, with more ferocity than the Osmanli Turks. They are ignorant, corrupt and indolent, unfit for business and too proud to engage in industrial pursuits, while too poor to command respect or influence. The Christian rayas still retain

* *Les Serbes en Turquie.* Ubicini, p. 151.

† Ranke's *History of Servia*, ch. ii.

their high spirit and love of independence, but are scattered far apart in villages and can produce little effect on the condition of the province. But the majority of the Christians of Bosnia and Herzegovina have long since fled the country, driven forth by the persecutions of the Turks; and those who remain have little strength to resist the tyranny of their oppressors which even controls the form of their religion, compelling them to submit to the jurisdiction of the Greek Patriarch at Constantinople, though their religion—the Pravoslav—would render them properly members of the Russian communion. Bosnia is therefore of all the Sclavonic provinces the least advanced in civilization. The mass of the people are ground into the dust; there is no development of resources, few means of employment. Not one man in a hundred knows how to read, and the chief town, Seravejo, which contains from forty to fifty thousand inhabitants, does not contain a single bookseller's shop.* The houses of the poorer classes are mere hovels, filthy and unwholesome, and the people possess so little energy that the road begun ten years ago is still unfinished, and the cattle disease which first broke out in 1862 has never been eradicated, so that the Austrian government has been obliged to close the frontier against the importation of Bosnian cattle.† Such is the miserable condition of that province which is the most effectually under Turkish rule.

Bulgaria, with its dependencies, was, as we have seen, wrested from Hungary by the Turks in A. D. 1392, and has since then remained a Turkish province. In A. D. 1596, the greatest part of Hungary itself was also conquered by the Turks and for one hundred and sixty years continued subject to the Porte. What was left passsed into the hands of Ferdinand, archduke of Austria. But Austria and the Germans came to the rescue, and in A. D. 1699, all Hungary was recovered by Austria, except the unfortunate Banuat of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

* Miss Irby's *Travels*.

† "No notice of the disease seems to be taken by the Turkish authorities. It is admitted to exist, but no efforts are made to check it nor are any reports made on the subject."—*Consular Report on Bosnia for* 1874.

In A. D. 1718, the peace of Passorowitz had the effect of delivering Servia from the Turks, but twenty years later it was again a Turkish province and the Christian inhabitants became little better than slaves to their infidel masters. They were made to render heavy feudal services and pay a poll-tax for every male above the age of seven years. Justice was administered by Musulman Kadis, and even the bishops received their insignia of office from the Sultan. The rayas, as the Christian inhabitants were styled, were excluded from all share in the conduct of public affairs, and were in fact treated as serfs, "as the means wherewith to realize a revenue for the support of the State which had subjugated them, and of providing for its soldiery, its officers and even for its Courts."* No Servian was allowed to enter a town on horseback, and if he met a Turk, was obliged to halt and make way for him. This was after the treaty of Belgrade, in A. D. 1739, by which Servia was formally ceded to the Porte. So intolerable were the exactions of the Turks that numbers of the male Servians abandoned their homes, and became outlaws and brigands known by the name of Haiducks, who waylaid, robbed and murdered the Turks whenever they had the opportunity.

A short period of deliverance came in A. D. 1788, when Russia and Austria combined to war against the Turks, in which the Servians rendered these powers active assistance. But the mutual jealousy of the European Powers rendered them ungrateful, and in A. D. 1791, Servia was given back to the Turks, the only stipulation made in her favor being for amnesty to the inhabitants. Servia was now placed under the government of the Janizaries, who practised every kind of outrage under chiefs called Dahis. In 1804, they perpetrated a terrible massacre, assassinating the prince Stanoi and every Servian of reputation who could be reached. The people at last were roused to resistance, and rose under three leaders of whom the chief was George Pétrovitch, commonly known as "Kara" or Black George. The Turks were compelled to take refuge in their fortresses. Belgrade, which was held by the Janizaries, was attacked, and the insurgents found an un-

* Ranke, ch. iii.

expected ally in the Ottoman Porte itself, which had suffered too much from the power of the Janizaries not to gladly avail itself of the opportunity of reducing them. The Pacha of Bosnia was ordered to interfere in behalf of the Servians. He marched into the country at the head of 3,000 men, and by the command of the Sultan, the gates of the fortress at Belgrade were opened to him. The Janizaries escaped to Osschora, but were pursued by the Servians and many of them put to the sword. The insurgents were then formally assured by the Pacha that all was finished and that they might peaceably return to their occupations.

But the outrages of the Turks were speedily renewed and Servia incited to a fresh revolt against oppression and misrule. Encouraged by the sympathy manifested in Russia for the Sclavonians in Moldavia and Wallachia, the Servians requested the interference of the Czar in their behalf. This was readily granted, and negotiations opened for a settlement of difficulties; but the Porte rejected the demand that the fortresses of Servia should be placed in the hands of the people. This the Servians insisted upon, and while negotiations were yet pending, Kara George, with a body of troops, took possession of Karanovitz and other important fortresses. Servia was now at open war with her oppressors, and during the struggle with Napoleon, while Turkey sided with France, Servia openly joined the standard of Russia. The Turks were compelled to relinquish their hold, and Servia became practically independent under the government of Kara George. But her independence had not been formally recognized. In the treaty of Bucharest, A. D. 1812, Servia was mentioned as subject and tributary to the Sultan, and it was stipulated that her fortresses should be garrisoned by Turkish troops, but the internal government left to the Servians themselves. But the moment that Russia withdrew her troops from Servia, the Turks cast their stipulations to the wind. They poured their troops into Servia, and Kara George and the Servian senators were compelled to take refuge in Austria. One Vayvode, Milosch Obrenovitch, alone withstood the storm. He made peace with the Turks and received an appointment under

them as Grand Knes of Rudwik. But the atrocities of the Turks after this conquest exceeded the worst horrors of the wars of the Middle Ages.

These atrocities altered the determination of Milosch. On Palm Sunday, A. D. 1815, he appeared in the midst of an assembly at Zanutscha, crying out, "Here I am! and now war against the Turks is begun!" The standard of revolution was immediately unfurled and the Turks driven into their fortifications. The Congress at Vienna paid little attention to the appeals of the Servians for recognition and aid, but the Porte felt the necessity of conciliation, and a peace was arranged on the old terms, namely, that the Servians should recognize the authority of the Porte and allow the Turks to occupy their fortresses, but should retain their own internal government.

The Greek revolution materially changed the attitude of the Great Powers toward Turkey, which was compelled to succumb, and by the convention of Ackerman, A. D. 1826, Servia was erected into a principality tributary to the Porte, but with an independent internal administration. But the Porte, with his usual perfidy, repudiated the convention in the following year, and the privileges of the Servians were not confirmed until 1829, when, however, the important stipulation was added that "the Mussulmans or Turks, except those who are to guard the castles, should be prohibited to reside in Servia."*

Servia was now practically independent, but her internal dissensions soon gave the Turks fresh opportunity to again interfere in her government. Milosch was deposed by the Servians, and Alexander Kara Georgevitch chosen Prince in his stead. Georgevitch was in his turn deposed and Milosch recalled, and the successor confirmed to his son Michael. In 1868, Prince Michael was assassinated. The conspirators failed, however, in their efforts to secure the crown for Georgevitch and his descendants, and the son of Prince Michael now occupies the Servian throne. The Turks continue to garrison the fortresses,

* Hertlett's *Map of Europe*, by Treaty, ch. ii, p. 833.

but they have now quitted the soil of Servia, and the green flag that floats on the ramparts of Belgrade is the sole symbol of the titular sovereignty of the Ottoman Porte.

The religion of Servia is that of the Greek Church, but all religions are tolerated. The primacy of the Patriarch of Constantinople is acknowledged, but not his supremacy. All free male inhabitants over twenty-one years of age are privileged to vote. The government consists of the Prince, aided by a council of seven ministers, a Senate and a House of Representatives, called *Skoupschinâ*, from the Sclavonic word *Skouptti*, to assemble. The communes are governed by municipal officers called Kmètes, who are assisted by village councils called *Skonpe*, composed of the head-men of the village. Thus Servia, after many trials and reverses, at last enjoys a species of freedom, but its prosperity is still hindered by the fickleness and turbulence of its population, as well as their aversion to labor. Their recent unsuccessful attempt to recover absolute independence is familiar to all; and they are at present with difficulty restrained from plunging into the conflict now existing between Turkey and her revolted provinces. It seems strange, though characteristic, that they are so restrained by fear of another Christian Power—Austria—whose grasp on her own Sclavonic provinces is not sufficiently assured for her to permit the existence of an independent Sclavonic community in her immediate neighborhood.

Bulgaria continues to be oppressed by the Turks, being subjected to heavy taxes which are farmed out by the Porte, and enforced with the greatest severity. The Christians are robbed and otherwise outraged by the Turkish inhabitants with the utmost impunity. The peasant is not allowed to remove a sheaf from the ground until the farmer of the tithe has fetched his portion, and on one year the harvest was left all over the province rotting in the ground, to be devoured by birds and vermin.* The peasants dwell in little villages built of wicker-work and plastered, with seldom more than fifty houses in

* Report by Mr. Barron, H. M. Secretary to Embassy.

any one village. Yet are the Bulgarians an industrious, peaceful and temperate race, rather slow in intellect as compared with the Servians, but so honest that it is said they may be trusted with large sums of money with perfect safety. The Christians are obliged to worship in hovels, and conceal their worship from the Turks to escape outrage at their hands. Their principal cathedral has been turned into a Turkish morgue. All the privileges from time to time accorded them have been lost, and the condition of the people depends on the caprice of the Pachas. But far up in the mountain regions the *haiduks*, or brigands, as they are called, have secured for their people a sort of independence. They have taken up in their own defense, and though vilified by the Turks as brigand, deserves our highest sympathies as the chief protectors of their country in the present struggle for independence.

The provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, at present known as Roumania, raised the standard of revolt at the time of the Greek insurrection, and were subjected to the most barbarous atrocities by the Turkish armies. Here, however, Russia was able successfully to interfere and to secure to the Roumanians certain privileges, which they have continued to enjoy. The Roumanians are a mixed race, the Sclavonian, the ancient Dacian, and even of the Roman. They style themselves Romans and speak a corrupt Latin, mingled with Sclavonic, and their dress is the same as that exhibited on the figures of their ancestors represented on Trojan column. They are not an interesting people, being described as ignorant, indolent, stupid, treacherous and vindictive. Yet the promptness with which the Roumanians have of late responded to the appeal of their oppressed fellow-Christians, and taken up arms in the cause of liberty, indicates at least a capability of better things; and when the yoke is removed they may develope into a higher civilization in the sunshine of that liberty which they have lent their earnest aid to secure.

ART. V.—1. *Insurance Guide and Hand-Book, or Fire, Life, Marine, Tontine and Casualty Insurance.* By CORNELIUS WALFORD. London. 1857.

2. *Annals of Life-insurance.* By J. FRANCIS. London.

3. *Commentaries on American Law.* By JAMES KENT. New York. 1826.

4. *Reports of Receivers of Defunct Insurance Companies.* New York. 1877.

5. *Reports of Testimony before the Insurance Commissioners.* New York. 1877.

IT is a fact generally recognized among professors of medical science, that what is called sickness is in reality but the effort of nature to throw off the causes of diseases, which for a long period have been imperceptibly, but surely, accumulating in the body physical; and which, while perhaps so little manifested that the patient considered himself in a condition of perfect health, were steadily undermining his constitution and effecting his ruin. The blood has been long corrupting before the gangrene appears; the mucous lining of the stomach has been some time wasting away before the cancer declares itself; and the inflammation of the general system has sometimes proceeded for years before it is manifested in the shape of gout or its kindred maladies.

Something of this nature may be remarked in the condition of bodies corporate, social and political. Evil with them is in most instances of tardy growth. No one can tell when first the germ was sown; when the principles of justice and integrity which originally regulated their actions began to lower in tone; when selfish considerations commenced to force

their way to the front, and the restraints of wisdom, honor and equity to fade away before the spirit of personal aggrandizement and reckless speculation. Step by step, as the encroaching waters sap the strongest wall, this spirit undermines the most exalted institutions. It has done much before its existence is suspected; more yet before suspicion deepens into certainty; and by the time its presence is conclusively established, it is too often in a position to throw aside the mask and boldly defy the public sentiment which demands reformation.

But this state of things, as in the body physical, carries within itself its own Nemesis, or its own cure. As the fruit, rotten at the core, will fall to destruction notwithstanding its goodly surface; as the body, where the taint is in the blood, will at last succumb to the malady from which it must either rise relieved or ultimately perish; so in the body corporate, there comes a day when the corrupt members can hold together no longer—when neither specious promises nor open defiance will avail it, and when it is compelled to confront the crisis which can only result in complete purification or utter disintegration.

We have been led to this train of thought in contemplating the present condition of life-insurance in the United States, a condition of revolution which can be compared in its magnitude and extent only to the upheaval of those earthquakes which have prostrated entire cities, or those greater moral revulsions which have uprooted governments and revolutionized nations. Companies have fallen, and are still falling; not only those whose habitual management had previously rendered them open to suspicion, but others of whose integrity no doubt had been entertained; and their fall has in many instances revealed an organized system of treachery and of wholesale peculation to which we can hardly find a parallel in the history of the New York Ring itself. We have seen the funds which were the sacred property of the widow and orphan, squandered in extravagant salaries and wasted in gambling speculations; or still worse, removed beyond reach in order that when the inevitable collapse arrived, the vic-

tims might be incapacitated from recovering even the remnant which might have been theirs. The spirit of investigation which has been at last aroused appears to find in every depth a lower deep. Revelations are made by officials of the most trusted companies which display extortion exercised in its worst forms, not to increase the security of those for whose benefit the institution was originally created, but simply to enrich the already plethoric fortunes of stockholders and directors. It were idle to conjecture where these disclosures will end; and vain to deny that hitherto nothing of an encouraging character has been developed from any of the investigations; but some confidence, it is to be hoped, may be derived from the searching character of these investigations themselves. Life-insurance has at present reached the period where the malady is openly declared; and we may possibly hope that the radicalness of the disease discovered may be followed by an equally radical cure.

That the very principle of life-insurance should under the circumstances have become an object of suspicion can hardly astonish any person who is familiar with the rapid and superficial habit of generalization of the average mind. Where the same course has been so many times repeated; where company after company has arisen from a small beginning, with a capital barely sufficient to meet the requirements of the law, but by means of fair promises, persuasive agents and general address in recommending itself, has accumulated immense sums from premiums rapidly gathered in; when the perceptible result of these accumulations is found to be a palatial structure, an immense staff of officers receiving almost princely salaries, an annual return of assets apparently indicating fabulous wealth, and a body of stockholders annually receiving enormous dividends, coupled in too many instances with an undisguised reluctance to pay any policies which have fallen due and which the least excuse can be found for resisting; and when as a finale to its defiant career, a legal investigation establishes the company to be without assets sufficient to pay its liabilities, and the bulk of its securities covertly transferred to other hands, where they are beyond the reach of the out-

raged policy-holders; and when in addition to all this, compact bands of insurance companies are formed, to buy up the Legislature, manipulate the laws in their own favor, and defy justice and decency from the stand-point of their ill-acquired fortunes; it would hardly be in human nature not to rush to the conclusion that life-insurance is itself a fraud, a mere speculation in which, as in other forms of gambling, the stockholder generally secures the winning cards, and the risks are all incurred by the outside investors.

It is a remarkable fact that this was the very objection made to the doctrine of life-insurance in its earliest days. The objection, however, was then not so much practical as theoretical; addressed not so much to the dangers to which holders of life policies might be exposed from fraudulent or insolvent companies, as to the supposed immoral character of what was esteemed a speculation in human life. According to the maxims of the civil law, the life of a freeman was above all valuation; and, strange as it may appear, this principle,

"Liberum corpus æstimationem non recipit,"

was seriously accepted by many of those European Powers in which the law prevailed, as a reason for prohibiting the practice of life-insurance in any form. In the ancient French treatise entitled *Le Guidon*, composed so long ago that the name of its author, as well as the date of its composition, has been forgotten,* life-insurance is condemned as contrary to good morals, and as the source of infinite abuse;† and an ordinance of Louis XIV expressly forbade it, resting the prohibition on the maxim of the civil law. The same rule was adopted by the ordinances of Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Middleburg; and even the Napoléon Code of 1807, while omit-

* It was digested and prepared some centuries ago, by a person whose name is unknown, for the use of the merchants of Rouen. It was published by Cleirac, in 1671, in his collection entitled *Les Us et Coutumes de la Mer*," but it was a production of much earlier date, and it contains decisive evidence that the law of insurance had become in the sixteenth century a regular science."—Kent's *Commentaries*. Vol. III, p. 346.

† *Le Guidon*, ch. 16, art. 5.

ting any express provision on the subject, uses phraseology which the commentators have almost unanimously interpreted as a prohibition; while Boulay Paty, especially, denounces insurances of human life as gambling contracts of the most pernicious kind.* So strong was the prejudice against this institution † in France, that it was not until 1820 that a royal ordinance established a company for the insurance of lives.

The sentiment in England on the subject was much more sound and liberal; for as early as the beginning of the last century the Amicable Society was in full vigor and popularity. In 1827, we are informed that there were in the United Kingdom forty-four life-insurance companies, which Kent describes as "all maintaining a zealous and dangerous competition." ‡ If the learned author considered this as a dangerously large number in the whole United Kingdom, what would he have thought of the state of things a half century later, when that number is perhaps exceeded by those doing business in the single State of New York!

The fundamental principle of insurance—namely the union of numbers for the purpose of lightening the burden of losses falling on individuals, appears at an early period to have found an echo in the hearts of the English nation. Its first manifestation was in the guilds, which soon after the Norman conquest became a favorite institution among the Anglo-Saxon population. Every freeman of fourteen years or upwards being required by the conquerors to find security to keep the peace, certain neighbors, composed of ten members, became bound to one another, either to produce any one of the number who should offend against the Norman law, or to make pecuniary satisfaction for his offence. To do this, they raised a fund by contribution, which they placed in one common stock. This was the origin of the guild, an institution which still

* *Cours du Droit Com.* III. 366, 368, 496-506.

† The general sentiment is expressed by an old writer in these words: "Man is beyond all price. The life of man is not an object of trade, and it is odious for his death to become matter of mercantile speculation."

‡ Kent's *Commentaries.* Vol. III, p. 369.

exists in the immense trading associations of London, and contains practically the germ of modern mutual assurance.*

The advantages of this species of association became so manifest that, in process of time, similar guilds were formed for mutual protection for other purposes: such as St. Catherine's guild, which provided that "if any member suffered from fire, water, robbery or other cause, the guild should lend him a sum of money without interest;" and the Exeter, which stipulated that "when a member is to go abroad, each of his fellow-members shall contribute five pence, and if any member's house is burned, one penny."

It was not, however, until the reign of Queen Anne that anything in the character of a modern life-insurance company was established. A company had been started in the previous reign, but had proved an utter failure; and the Amicable was, as we have seen, the first to maintain itself in successful operation. Other forms of insurance had, however, been well known for many years previously. Marine insurance is recognized in the laws of Wisbury, promulgated in 1436. Casualty insurance had been in vogue at a period prior to the Reformation, when parties, going to the Continent on pilgrimages or for commercial ventures, would make arrangements with certain home institutions to pay their ransom if taken prisoners, or the expense of their nursing and return home if delayed by accident or illness. The gambling spirit, which has always been the bane of insurance, proved, however, fatal to these institutions. Speculative travellers were accustomed, on departure, to place a sum of money in their hands, with the stipulation that it was to be forfeited if they were absent beyond the period of human life, and repaid three-fold in the event of their return. To the indignation excited by that class of speculators may be attributed much of the prejudice which so long existed against the principle of life-insurance.

When the gambling insurance, which was so rife in the eighteenth century in England, had been suppressed, the blessings of the life-insurance system began to be strongly realized.†

* Welford, p. 3.

† At the instance of Pitt.

So distinctly was it recognized by the government that, by special act,* such portions of every man's income were exempted from taxation as were applied to the payment of premiums on life-policies. But the golden age of the institution was not destined to last. The popularity and prosperity which it had attained proved too great a temptation to swindlers, and about thirty-five years since commenced the era of what might be justly styled "bubble companies." Many of these companies, like the Anglo-Bengalee, commemorated by Dickens in *Martin Chuzzlewit*, were deliberate frauds, commenced with a fictitious capital and the recognized purpose of accumulating all the premiums possible and absconding with the proceeds. The West Middlesex swindle was originated in 1836, by two scoundrels who drew from the public as much as £250,000 by the sale of annuities at thirty per cent. less than any other company, and by granting life-policies at similarly reduced rates. It was followed by the Sea-Fire-Life, the Reciprocal Life, the Hope Reversionary and Life, the Annual Bonus, the European Full Pay Alliance Insurance Company, and many others of the same kind. Many of these were deliberate swindles; the others were little better, starting with perhaps no intention to defraud, but with insufficient capital and a set of irresponsible directors, relying for success only on the management of the funds that they might take in from the public. An attempt was made to check the mischief done by these companies by the passage of an Act, in 1844, for the regulation of joint stock companies; but that act was so imperfectly worded that it became the excuse for heavier frauds than ever. Under its provisions commenced the system of amalgamations. Companies, becoming embarrassed, would reinsure their policy-holders in some other company, to which they would transfer their assets, and then plunge into bankruptcy. Many of these re-insurances would be in new companies, organized by members of the former for the express

* "The magnitude of their transactions were only equalled or surpassed by their kindred institutions, banks; and the promptitude with which they met their engagements to everybody placed them high in public confidence. —Welford, p. 48.

purpose of carrying out this fraudulent amalgamation. The Sea-Fire-Life, which was organized in 1849, was wound up in 1850. Its actuary and clerk instituted a new company, which continued to get most of the assets of the extinct company into his hands. In the following year the new company found it convenient to change its name, and shortly afterwards amalgamated into a third. The actuary and clerk now divided their forces and transferred their spoil to new companies which they respectively organized; and the process continued until *nine* new companies—all equally irresponsible—had been established on the ruins of a single one. This same practice was repeated by other companies, until the very name of life-insurance came into as bad an odor as it is at present in our own community.

The evil was, however, eventually abated by the passage of the Limited Liability Act, which enabled parties to become stockholders in insurance Companies without risking more than the capital absolutely invested. This induced substantial and responsible citizens to take part in the organization of Companies which had hitherto been left to a class of reckless adventurers. Life-insurance by slow degrees thus resumed its former status, and is now among the most beneficial institutions of the United Kingdom.

The institution of Life-insurance in this country is of little more than fifty years' growth. The first Life-insurance Company was incorporated in Massachusetts, in 1818; and Kent, in his Commentaries, published as late as 1826, speaks of the institution as "slowly but gradually attracting attention in our principal cities."* We have still existing, in our own State, one company, "The New York Life-insurance and Trust," whose existence dates back as far as 1830; and two others, the Mutual Life, and the New York Life—whose respective charters were issued in 1843 and 1845; but with these exceptions, none of our existing companies bears an earlier date than 1850. Even after this period, the growth of the system appears to have been very gradual for a number of

* Vol. III, p. 366.

years. Of existing companies subsequently formed, four only bear an earlier date than the year 1860.* But if the number of companies were comparatively small, their character, at that time, ranked deservedly high. Developing under the advantages of its long English experience, the institution from the outset escaped many of the evils which the practice of speculative insurance had wrought in the mother country; and the wise principle of limited liability, adopted at an early period, if not from the very beginning, secured to the companies the best class of managers, and to the public the greatest security. The principles of American law, and the tendency of American decisions were in general more favorable to the insured than in Great Britain; and the blessings of the institution were so generally recognized that, in the year 1860 alone, three new companies—the Germania, the Home and the Washington, sprang into existence. But the terrible civil war which for four years distracted our land, was destined to leave its impress nowhere more strongly than over this once beneficent and honored institution. Its first result was an apparent increase of prosperity. The risks of military service were daily adding thousands to the numbers demanding policies. The sudden increase of premiums brought immense accessions of wealth, while the losses which began to fall in were for a time compensated by the vast number of policies held by Southern parties, which were considered to have lapsed, and whose reserve fell into the available capital of the Companies. It is not surprising that with this accession of fortune the gambling spirit which is the bane of all war times, and which was demoralizing the entire country, should soon have been felt among the insurance companies. With so much surplus funds to invest, it was not easy to resist the temptation of employing them in some of the many schemes which were then rife for the rapid manufacture of fortunes.

This temptation, if alluring to the stockholders of a company, from the prospect of increased dividends, became in many instances, irresistible to directors, who saw a facile mode

*The Manhattan, 1850; United States, 1850; Knickerbocker, 1853; Equitable, 1859.

of enriching themselves personally, by borrowing the funds of the company to invest for their individual benefit. Hence, to a great extent, arose the practice of "loans on stock collaterals," which form so important an item in the assets of most modern companies. These collaterals were in most instances deposited by directors and stockholders as security for the fund which they borrowed for their own speculation. It is easy to imagine what feeble security was often accepted. Stocks and bonds of other companies, mortgages on property in remote States, loans on policies, and other securities of a kind to which no company would venture directly to invest, were accepted as collaterals for these loans to directors. Another practice, which grew up about the same time, was the loaning of money to directors on bond and mortgage, nominally at seven per cent. interest, but the interest on which was allowed to remain unpaid, and merely returned in the statement of assets as "interest due and accrued." In addition to this, enormous sums were paid as salaries to officers and directors, and squandered in the erection of palatial structures for the business of the companies themselves. The funds which were intended for the protection of policy-holders necessarily diminished under this system of management, and were still more imperilled. When the increased number of deaths occasioned by the war began to cause policy after policy to fall due, and eventually, when the return of peace brought back the Southern policy-holders to assert their claims to continue their former policies, which the companies had generally seen fit to consider as lapsed, under these circumstances the companies found it expedient to resist the payment of policies as they fell due, whenever a tolerably plausible excuse could be found for so doing; and the institution was accordingly degraded by incessant litigation of claims of whose justice there was not the slightest doubt, but which were disputed on technical grounds of so slight a character as to incur the reprobation of the judges themselves. In short, life-insurance, instead of a benevolent, had become to a great extent an oppressive institution. Nor were the oppressions of the companies confined to their policy-holders. These were, of course, the first sufferers. Widows,

with narrow means and little knowledge of business, were terrified by masses of technical objections with which they were confronted, by charges against the memories of their deceased husbands, which they had never suspected; by the prospect of a long and expensive litigation which they had not the means to sustain, and of an offensive scrutiny into all the details of their married life, which they had not the courage to confront; and were, accordingly, induced to compromise their claims for a sum comparatively trifling, which, perhaps, did not suffice even to repay the premiums originally expended. But the principle of oppression extended to other parties. It was originally the boast of the companies that they never loaned money on property less than twice the value of the sum loaned; and that they never exacted any bonus or usurious discount for making such loans. This had been undoubtedly their practice at first; but when stimulated at once by the greed of money and the pressure of unexpected claimants, both these principles were practically abandoned. If bonuses were not demanded by the companies themselves, they were boldly exacted by their agents, who acted as brokers for them, and who, moreover, assumed to make it a condition that the party applying for the loan should insure his life in the company to a considerable amount. Of the severity with which these mortgage debtors and policy-holders were treated, the reports of the last few years literally swarm with examples.

As the real or apparent wealth of insurance companies was conspicuously increased during this phase of their history, it is not surprising that crowds of new companies should have entered the lists, and that the period between the years 1860 and 1870 should have witnessed the rise of a larger number than in previous times. Now commenced the era of what might be called our Bubble companies—companies which, with an insufficient capital to start upon, managed by various indirect means to raise an apparent fund sufficient to entitle them to a certificate of incorporation, and then undertook their business, trusting merely to the profits which they could realize from annual premiums, securing ample profits to their directors and officers by enormous salaries, and to their

stockholders by regular dividends, but leaving their policy-holders with little resource beyond the amount which they were required to deposit with the insurance department for their security; while they amused them with manufactured reports in which really worthless assets were made to appear of value. In too many instances deliberate perjury was committed by swearing to the possession of valuable assets, which in fact had no existence whatever. The manner in which these companies provided their capital varied. Some of them took mortgages on the property of the incorporators, with a secret agreement that no interest should be collected on them, and that they should be exchanged for other securities whenever the owners so desired. Of course the mortgagors took care to relieve themselves, in a short period, by borrowing from the company on collateral security and then paying off the mortgages. Others put in bonds and other securities, the property of individual stockholders borrowed for the occasion, or purchased with borrowed money, which they were afterwards sold to repay. Of course at the outset it was necessary for every company to have some genuine securities among its capital; but it was not necessary to retain these very long. All that was required by the demands of an unsuspicious public was that the reports annually returned should present a sufficiently large apparent surplus of assets over liabilities. This was easily effected. There was first the steadily increasing item of "interest due and accrued," which, meaning generally interest on the stockholders' mortgages and collateral loans, which was never intended to be collected, became in time an asset of such magnitude as to represent thousands and hundreds of thousands, in some instances, millions. There was again the item of "premium notes and loans," which were notes taken in part payment of premiums with the understanding that they were to be paid out of the share of the profits to which the policy-holder was entitled, and in no other manner. There were "uncollected and deferred premiums," a simple debt of which the collection was necessarily problematical, but which were returned as an asset, sometimes to a disproportionately large amount. There was "cash in bank

and office," which was not unfrequently borrowed for the purpose of swelling the reported amount, and withdrawn by the officer, or director loaning it, immediately afterward. It will be easily seen how a large apparent return could be rendered yearly by this means by companies who had not really sufficient fund to meet these liabilities, but which, on the strength of these returns, declared their semi-annual dividends as regularly as the more solvent companies. But recent developments have shown that many of these companies did not hesitate to resort to actual perjury as well as fraud; swearing to the existence of assets which were entirely imaginary, or which amounted to only a fraction of the sum sworn to; and issuing what were called "conditional certificates," or certificates of portions of alleged profits and savings which had no real existence. These certificates were redeemed with capital stock of an additional issue which had been purchased by the directors. The cash paid for this capital stock was invested in the purchase of stocks and bonds, which figured conspicuously in the annual report; and immediately after the rendition of this report the stocks and bonds were sold, the proceeds applied to redeeming the conditional certificates in the hands of the directors, and the conditional certificates themselves returned as so much cash in the future annual reports.

Another mode in which life companies at the time greatly enhanced their temporary prosperity, but which proved no slight source of their ultimate unpopularity, was the unprincipled conduct of their agents. These men having a direct interest in the amount of insurance which they could effect, and none whatever in its eventual result, resorted to every imaginable device to obtain insurances in their respective companies. They represented life-insurance as an investment in which they made the policy-holder believe that he would derive large pecuniary returns from his interest in the profits of the concern. They put down answers to the questions propounded entirely different from those actually given by the applicant, and which if correctly taken down might have induced the company to refuse his application. In this manner many insurances were effected which were practically

a fraud both on the company and the insured; resulting eventually in protracted litigations, general disappointment and dissatisfaction.

It is evident that this state of things could not endure very long. During the period of fictitious prosperity which prevailed throughout the country for some years after the war, while the gambling mania ran high and speculations were carried on with an insane confidence, all the companies continued to flourish and to receive ample premiums and pay out more dividends than losses. But with the panic of 1873 came a check from which warning might have been taken. Policies began to lapse and premiums to diminish. Not a few companies failed, and a spirit of mistrust began to replace the former blind confidence. But the only lesson which many of these companies derived was the necessity of protecting themselves from the consequences of the failures which they already saw to be inevitable. There were still in the hands of every company some securities of sufficient value to protect the master spirits from personal loss. These must be secured at all risks. Some were accordingly transferred to individual directors—others to outside companies, existing in other States, under the guise of re-insurance. Others were protected by a process of amalgamation, by which some companies should gradually merge their existence into others until the assets of both should be so blended as to be indistinguishable. Some of their proceedings, strange as it may appear, were undoubtedly taken in good faith in the hope of protecting the holders of policies; but of the majority of them, we do not speak too harshly when we stigmatize them as deliberate frauds.

The mistrust created by the catastrophes which had befallen many companies, the names of which we may not repeat in these pages, not unnaturally aroused a desire, on the part of policy-holders, to investigate the condition of other companies in which they might be interested; but in almost all instances, the effort encountered resolute opposition. In the meanwhile, various devices were resorted to by companies more or less conscious of rottenness, to avoid the unpleasant results which had befallen their contemporaries. Some sought

refuge in amalgamation, or, at least, in re-insurance in other companies; a device which had been already attempted by the Continental, a large portion of whose assets had thus been transferred into the hands of the New Jersey Mutual. This company had already a history of its own. In 1875 it had, under very peculiar circumstances, absorbed the Hope Mutual, which, only a few months previously, had itself swallowed up the Craftmen's. It had re-insured the policies of the Hercules and the Commonwealth, and had finally acquired a considerable number both of the policies and the assets of the Continental. The New Jersey Mutual was, in fact, substantially built up on the ruins of virtually insolvent companies, whose policies it had acquired without the necessary "reserve" to render them safe, and could accordingly effect the contemplated profit on the transferred assets, only by substituting an inferior quality of insurance, as in the case of the Continental, to which it is said to have issued in exchange almost valueless twenty-year-term policies. Feeling itself the object of suspicion, its president, Mr. Stedwell, appeared before the public with a defiant circular in which he announced that the pecuniary condition of the company was excellent, its assets first-class, and its surplus large; that the company was rapidly increasing its business in a legitimate way, issuing over five thousand new policies annually; that any statement that the company was interested in any manner in the Continental Life, or in the stock of the Continental Life, or was endeavoring to save anything for the stockholders of this company was false; and finally, that the company expected to increase its business, to increase its assets, to increase its income, to increase its surplus, and by so doing, to protect many unfortunate policy-holders. And yet, in little more than a month after the issuing of this circular the New Jersey Mutual was avowedly bankrupt, and of the $315,000.00 securities of the Continental that were in its hands, only $102,000.00 were recovered back by the Receiver. But the worst part of the whole business, as regards the New Jersey Mutual was, that only about a month previously to its collapse, it had trans-

ferred nearly the whole of its securities to the National Capitol Life, of Washington.

The history of this company and its allies exceeds in curiosity anything in the records of American Life-insurance, and is not surpassed by any of the most notable British experiences. It originally came into existence under a charter granted by Congress, with little more than a nominal capital. Its original career was of the briefest; the few policy-holders which it possessed having been, at an early stage, turned over to a Pennsylvania company; and the National Capitol became practically defunct, although, unfortunately, it continued to have a legal existence. In this condition it remained until a few years ago, when its charter attracted the attention of one who may in a certain sense be called, if not exactly the hero, at least the Turpin of life-insurance. Our readers may recall the excitement created, a year or two ago, by the investigations into the affairs of the American National Life and Trust Company at New Haven. This investigation possessed an especial interest for policy-holders in this State, from the fact that the company, under the guise of re-insurance, had absorbed the bulk of the assets of a defunct New York Company, the National Life; and was even then endeavoring, by vigorous litigation, to obtain possession of the hundred thousand dollars deposited by it at Albany, and which was very properly retained for the security of the National policy-holders. The disclosures made on this investigation were remarkable, even among the many remarkable disclosures which the history of Life-insurance has to record. It appears that the guarantee capital of $100,000.00 which was sworn to be paid up in cash, had been really paid by crediting the subscribers with $25,000.00 previous dividends to which they were not entitled, and taking from them securities for the balance, under an express contract that the same should be returned to their owners at the expiration of three years, in any event. The land and building belonging to the company were valued, in the sworn statement, at $350,000.00; but as the books showed an expenditure of $258,000.00 only, the directors undertook to add the following items to make up the amount: "Loss of interest in construction of building,

$21,618.22; builder's risk and insurance paid, *while we went without and make a charge as we assumed it*, $28,000.00; one, ground rent, $2,000.00; balance of architectural drawings and services, $8,982.65; expenditures which came in after that, $15,000.00; contractors' risk, *we being ourselves contractors, estimated that a contractor would charge us on a* special outlay of $258,733.00, and that would be $25,000.00." There were agency balances nearly worthless, Brighton bonds with accrued interest, which had been accruing for four years, and seemed likely to accrue forever; subscribers' capital which had never been paid, and a large portion of which had never been subscribed; uncollected premiums which there appeared little prospect of collecting, and accrued interest. Then there was rent paid by the company to itself; furniture valued at twelve thousand dollars.(!) But with all this peculiar figuration, the assets of the company could not be made to appear equal to the amount of its liabilities; and yet by skillful manipulation the president succeeded in making them seem equal to two-thirds of the liabilities which, under Connecticut law, was sufficient to save it from dissolution; and when the genuineness of his estimates was called in question, replied *totidem verbis:* "By G—! if it is not true, it is the way life-insurance assets and liabilities are calculated, anyhow!"

Although successful in its resistance to legal proceedings, the American National Life and Trust could not escape the indirect consequences of the exposure involved therein. Its policies in force rapidly diminished, it is said, to the extent of two millions of dollars. Under these circumstances it is said, though we cannot vouch for the report with certainty, that some of the officers availed themselves of the litigation to compromise with representatives of deceased policy-holders, and make money in that way, and even to purchase, at a reduced figure,* the interests of policy-holders in the New York National Life, who had the first claim as preferred creditors to the hundred thousand dollars held by the New York Insurance Department.

This was the position of the company when its president

* In some instances for thirty cents on the dollar.

cast his eyes on the cataleptic National Capitol Life, of Washington. It did not take him long to re-organize it under its old charter, and to transfer to it all that remained of the American National Life and Trust; the American Life (its first victim) and the New York National. Thus grew into new life the company which, without a cent of deposit in any of the departments, with few policy-holders save those which it had absorbed by a system very like intimidation from other companies, and boldly denying its obligation to make any statement of its condition, on the ground that it acted under a special charter from Congress, quietly pocketed the assets of the New Jersey Mutual, and defiantly asserted, through the mouth of its president, "I have the assets, and nobody can touch them!"

Would that we were at the end of this melancholy history! but the practice of amalgamation—or as it is more properly called—wrecking, is still going on in a manner subversive of all rights of policy-holders or other parties interested. We have the testimony of an eminent Massachusetts authority, that in four years the policy-holders of thirty life insurance companies doing business in that State have been made the victims of amalgamation, and that of the reserves held by them for the policy-holders, not less than *twelve millions of dollars* have been forfeited to the use and emolument of the amalgamators themselves and their paid officers.* In our own State, we see the directors of the United States Life charged with conspiracy to destroy its own business by creating distrust in the mind of the policy-holders, and inducing them to surrender their policies for an insignificant part of their value, in order to transfer the business, assets and property to a company in Boston, under the management of its former president; and connected with this is the imputation (true or false) of a hideous revenge sought to be taken on a party who has ventured to bring suit against it. We see the Universal accused of an enormous wrecking scheme (with which the Charter Oak is implied to have some mysterious connection) for swallowing up the North America and the Guardian,

*Speech of Mr. Clark, delivered before a meeting of the John Hancock Life, in February, 1875.

which had themselves respectively absorbed, one the Government Security and the Standard, the other the Widows' and Orphans, the Reserve Mutual and the New York State Life. In all these proceedings, the method of the imputed conspiracy is the same—deliberately to extinguish the credit of the company to be absorbed, with the connivance of its own officers, and having induced the policy-holders to part with their policies at a sacrifice, to transfer the assets to the new company and issue new policies, thus releasing large portions of the reserve which find their way into the pockets of the stockholders, in the shape of dividends, and of the officers' in the shape of salaries.

The extent to which the property of policy-holders has been squandered in salaries to officials, has of late been revealed in the investigations instituted by the legislature; and the result is simply astounding. The Equitable which sternly refused to pay attention to the reasonable requests of its policy-holders for an investigation of its affairs, now that it is obliged to disclose the truth, appears to have paid $329,691.18 during the past year in "salaries, law expenses, postage and exchanges." The salary of its President, alone, was $37,000.00, with a bonus of $50,000.00; that of its Vice-President, $22,000.00; of the Actuary, $20,000.00 and of its Secretary, $16,000.00. Seventeen book-keepers divided among themselves a salary of $41,000.00; and twenty-five clerks a salary of $51,000.00. The Cashiers received $36,000.00, including travelling expenses, the Medical Department $47,000.00, and the Attorney $25,000.00. These amounts it should be remembered were for *one year's services:* and that, a year in which the average of salaries throughout the country has been materially reduced. The President admitted that at a time when his nominal salary was only $1,500.00, he received, with allowances, over $29,000,00; and that he had altogether received allowances making, with his salary, an aggregate of over $498,000.00. The Mutual paid its President $30,000.00, and divided an equal amount between two Vice-Presidents, and among other officers $285,000.00. The New York paid its President $25,000.00, with a bonus of twenty-five per cent., and the salaries of the Vice-

President and Actuary were virtually the same. These are three companies who have appeared most conspicuously in resistance to claims of policy-holders, and in oppression of mortgage debtors. They are the leading members of the Chamber of Life Insurance, an association as to whose objects the members are generally very reticent in their statements, but whose business its own Secretary explained to be "to watch legislation, and if possible, prevent obnoxious legislation." The Chamber is well supplied with funds raised by assessment on the companies; but where the money goes, the president of the New York Life admitted frankly that he did not know; adding "he generally believes that it is well expended." What the Chamber considered "obnoxious legislation," there was no effort to explain. It certainly did not mean such legislation as was recently attempted at Albany, to prohibit stockholders or policy-holders from bringing suit against life companies, and to place all such actions under the exclusive control of the Attorney General; in other words, to submit the whole interests of stockholders and policy-holders to the keeping of one man, and to the chances of one man's integrity and competency—exposed, as it would necessarily be, to enormous temptations from companies controlling millions, and ready to spend any amount for their own protection. This species of legislation it may also be intended to "control," but not on account of its "obnoxious" qualities.

In April of the present year, the World Mutual became the subject of proceedings in bankruptcy; and this was shortly followed by the collapse, perhaps the most discreditable of all that we have yet recorded, of the American Popular. The record of this Company had never been particularly favorable. For at least two years, it had, on its own showing, been doing business with an impaired capital, a stock of assets consisting chiefly of such items as "loans on stock collaterals," "premium notes and loans," "cash in office and bank," and "deferred and unpaid premiums," and the destinction of having resisted thrice the amount of claims and losses

that it paid.* During this period it was known principally by its advertisements, its "hard pan method," its new system of calculations, and its general blatant self-puffery, sufficient to stamp it as a quack in the eyes of all men of experience. But its very quackery seemed to some minds a guarantee for its honesty. Few accurate observers were much surprised by its failure; but all were astonished at the developments involved, which proved the Company to have been, in the terse language of Superintendent Smyth, "a deliberate swindle." Instead of $588,702.58 as sworn to, its assets amounted to only $285,625.37, or less than half the amount; and even these were so far from genuine that it was shown that the Company were accustomed before making their annual statement, to transfer to directors certain worthless accounts, and receive in exchange therefor, mortgages which it re-transferred shortly after the statement was made and filed. Of its collateral loans $25,800.00 were on a purely bogus transaction, no money having been loaned and no collaterals assigned. Even of the "premium notes," less than one-half were available, and of the "cash in bank," only one-fourth, the balance being represented by the "conditional certificates," which we have already described. Of the policies representing "uncollected and deferred premiums," all but three were never issued. These are but a few specimens of the misrepresentations of what may well be described as the greatest "Bubble Company" ever known in the State, and which the superintendent did not hesitate to make the subject of a special application to the Attorney General, calling his attention particularly to it "hoping that if the officers of this institution have rendered themselves liable to prosecution, he will, if he can, in the course of his duty, cause such proceedings to be adopted, as will bring them to suffer such punishment as they appear to have so richly deserved."

The lesson to be derived from this gloomy record of the history of American Life-insurance, is not, as some superficial readers may suppose, to the effect that the system of Life-insurance is, itself to be esteemed a failure. That it has practi-

* See report of January 1, 1876. "Loans and Claims adjusted and readjusted $5.000.00. Losses and Claims resisted $15,000.00."

cally proved something of the kind of late years is not to be denied; but he must be a short-sighted observer who does not perceive that a system which has endured so long and through such an atmosphere of corruption must possess a principle of vitality only accorded to institutions of genuine worth. In fact, it is impossible to over-estimate the value of life-insurance when properly regulated; a system which enables the laborer, the artisan, and the man of any occupation who is dependent for his daily bread on his daily earnings, to make provision by moderate annual payments for the comfortable maintenance of the helpless family who may at any moment be left by his death without other resource. If in so many instances it has failed to answer its purpose, the fault must be found elsewhere than in the radical character of the system; and it is the secret of this failure that we now propose to investigate.

A very brief survey of the history of Life-insurance, both in this country and in Great Britain, will show that at all times the great danger to which the system was exposed, has been the tendency to speculation. The haste to grow rich, the temptation inseparable from the possession of vast funds connected with a very limited responsibility, and especially the idea that insurance was to be considered only a business like that of the merchant or the stock-broker, has been, and will at all times prove the bane of the whole system, until it is thoroughly realized that insurance is a sacred trust—as sacred as that of the trustee of any benevolent or charitable institution. In fact, there are few institutions in which the interests intrusted are so vast, the benefit purchased at so great a sacrifice, and the evils resulting from a breach of trust so wide-spreading and fatal. For what is the real principle of Life-insurance? It is as if the members of a colony, feeling their inability to provide for their families in case of sudden death, should agree to contribute annually from their earnings a contingent fund which should remain untouched during their lives, but be devoted to the support of the widows and orphans of those who were taken away. We can imagine the sacred character which such a fund would possess in the eyes of all

the contributors, only to be intrusted to members of the strictest integrity and prudence, and even under those circumstances to be closely watched by every individual who had any interest engaged. But such a fund would necessarily require time to accumulate, and in the meanwhile, families might be left dependent on its assistance before a sufficient amount was obtained to be of essential service. This difficulty could only be met by certain individuals agreeing to advance a Capital Fund, to be held in reserve for these emergencies, to be managed by chosen men of their own numbers, and invested in such manner as would be for the advantage of the fund; while for their own remuneration they would accept such proportion of the profits as might remain after providing faithfully for all the contingencies for which the fund was designed. In this arrangement we see the position of the stockholders and directors, and so long as the community was limited, the interests of all the members combined in a single fund, and every manager directly responsible to the whole association, we can see how rigidly they would be kept to a strict account, how impossible would be any diversion of the funds, and how carefully the rights of all interested would be protected. But in vast communities, such as London and New York, this general close surveillance becomes difficult if not impossible. Rival companies will arise—opportunities for personal aggrandizement will suggest selfish considerations—and the strictness of principle must become weaker as the means of detection and investigation diminish.

It is too much to expect that human nature will in future ages be more proof than at present against the temptations which in all periods must arise in connection with every institution of this nature. There is but one remedy—wise and careful legislation; legislation which, recognizing the temptations which must always beset the management of insurance companies, shall provide for their prevention. This can only be done by a system which shall check every evil at the outset; which shall subject every report to the investigation of experienced accountants unconnected with any individual company; which shall regulate the amount of its outlay, and the

character of its investments; and which shall limit its operations to such a field as shall retain it within the jurisdiction of the Courts of its own State. If amalgamation or re-insurance be allowed, let it at least be confined to companies within the State, so that no property of an insurance company can be secretly conveyed beyond the jurisdiction of its own State. Above all, let it be remembered that the secret of permanent success rests in the confidence of the people, and, that unless that confidence is secured, the utter extinction of the institution can be but a question of time. This public confidence has been rudely shaken; and if it is to be restored, it can be only by the conviction that such frauds as we have recently witnessed will hereafter become impossible. It is in the power of our legislature to give us once more this security; and on the proper exercise of this power must depend the future of Life-insurance in this country. Will the effort be made?

ART. VI.—1. *Manual of Political Ethics.* By FRANCIS LIEBER, LL.D. 2 Volumes. *2d Edition Revised.* By THEODORE D. WOOLSEY, LL. D. Philadelphia. 1875.

2. *De la Démocratie en Amérique.* Par ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE. 3 Tomes. Paris. 1878.

3. *De l'Esprit des Lois.* Par M. MONTESQUIEU. *Œuvres complètes de Montesquieu.* Paris. 1846.

As we turn over the pages of history and trace in the record of events the slow development of society, the fact becomes clearly manifest that the progress of civilization has been over wild and thorny wastes, accompanied with sweat and tears, weariness, pain and sorrow, and at a fearful cost of blood and treasure. At every step in its broken and devious course have the toiling masses had to struggle against oppression and injustice; ignorant rulers and strong self-seeking tyrants; divinely appointed despots and usurping demagogues. Freedom has been the condition of the few who were willing to die for it; the rest of mankind have been slaves.

Of this phase of social life we make no complaint; for he who is not willing to die in defense of freedom, which is a struggle for manhood, is unworthy of it. The struggle to which we refer has been, not with material nature—clods and stones; not with the physical elements, frosts, earthquakes and storms; not between capital and labor even, as some would have us believe; but between the rulers and the ruled; between the privileged few and the unprivileged many; between the strong on the one hand and the weak on the other. It has been a mental conflict between members of the same species,

brothers of the same lineage—children of the same Father; and in the end the strongest, rarely the fittest, has survived.

The founders of the Government of the United States were exceedingly zealous of the rights of the few, and entertained no little concern lest the rule of the majority should prove oppressive to the minority. But they might well have spared the pains they took to create barriers against so unlikely a contingency; for the history of all governments points clearly to the fact that the few rule and that the many are slaves in fact, if not in name. And it must be so until equality is a fixed condition among citizens of the same State, and justice becomes the established order of the body politic.

There is no phenomenon in all history more strange, and in some respects more melancholy, than the warfare of man with man in his struggle for place and power. The course of physical nature generally is marked by hardship and cruelty at best. Vegetation seems to need the opposing force of gravity and the withering touch of the sunbeam; and animal life, the buffets of opposition and the blasts of apparent ill-fortune to develop symmetry of form and firmness of fibre. So, likewise, all nature is supported and her processes carried on by a system of antagonisms. One species of animals devour another, usually an inferior species; and certain other species prey on each other; but it remains for him who boasts, with questionable propriety, of a lineage superior to that of other animals, to live at the expense of his own species, and at the same time indulge a degree of cruelty toward it, limited only by his genius to devise and enforce instruments and means of torture.

But amid all this antagonism, the war of classes and the clash of interests, is discovered a prophecy, not of "harmony not understood," but of an improved order of things, from barbarism to civilization—through darkness to light—in which Justice shall meet out to every man his due. It is for this purpose that governments are instituted among men. And if they have any other just and proper mission on earth it is difficult to discern what it is.

"The greatest question in the world," most truly says the

clever authoress of *Felix Holt* "is how to give every man a man's share in what goes on in life." The question has been asked and answered several times in the history of the world, but it returns to us for a new solution with each new political decade. That condition of society in which every man has his proper place and fulfills his proper destiny, comprehends the perfection of government. It is embodied in Plato's Ideal Republic, and was exemplified in the government of some of the democratic cities of ancient Greece, notably Athens before her corruption and decline. If it has ever been attained in equal perfection by any considerable city, community or State, since the decline of Grecian civilization, we cannot recall the instance.

The dominant passion of uncivilized man impels society in a direction quite the reverse of this. If there is in mankind, or in an organic community, a principle, or impulse, which causes them to struggle toward the attainment of this ideal condition, there is also in them an inclination or passion of exceeding tenacity toward a counter attainment—the prevention of a man having a man's share in what goes on in life. The wisest statesmanship—let us say, rather, the unwisest—has been generally exercised to secure privileges for the few at the expense of the many. This fact is so common in the best governed communities of modern times, that it can hardly be called anomalous. And it does not speak well for our civilization. It is a relic of barbarism. The rivalry between alien classes and adverse interests; the pride of birth and fortune; the vanity of position and authority; the love of gain and glory—even among those who subscribe to the doctrine of mutual kinship through Adam and the formula of brotherly love—all contribute to perpetuate a struggle in which the few succeed in enslaving the many; compelling them to accept conditions of being—say rather of dying—which cannot but render them more and more unfitted to perform a man's share in what goes on in life. Such is the aspect of society to-day in both Europe and America. The social status which the decadence of Feudalism left in Europe is vigilantly sought by the ruling caste to be maintained; while in America the advantages which accrue

to hereditary or acquired wealth are as vigilantly sought by the dominant class to be perpetuated indefinitely.

Mr. Wm. R. Gregg, in a chapter in *Enigmas of Life*, deprecates the growing influence of the masses in political life, and dolefully declares that if they ever come to the surface "and bear sway permanently," the day of his "cherished vision must indeed be distant."

"But I dont believe," he continues," the tendency to be so irresistible as is fancied. I am not sure that it may not contain within it the seeds of a counteracting and correcting agency. * * * As long as property is safe and its rights respected, the legitimate and inevitable influence it must ever wield, directly, and through the accessories which belong to it (of which wealth and superior knowledge, refinement and intelligence, are the principals), is so enormous that we cannot doubt its winning an easy victory in any struggle, and even warding off the near approach of any such struggle, *provided only the holders of property hang together and recognize in time the danger of division in their ranks;* and there is surely sagacity and foresight enough to create close union among all *possessional* classes at the first serious menace to the security and sacredness of property. This is the first safeguard we have to trust to." *

We should be sorry to believe that our author magnifies the *force* of the tendency to which he refers, though he evidently does exagerate the *danger* to come of it. It is no little surprise to us, however, that so accurate an observer of public events in England and America, as he, should put so much confidence in the union of the property class, or in the desirableness of such union, under the status of property interests as it exists in England. "When rogues fall out honest folks get their due." It is a wise circumstance that dissension is not confined to the poor and foolish, but that it is likewise an infirmity shared with them by the wise and wealthy. The rights of man—mankind—which are likely to be promoted thereby, are more sacred in the eye of divine wisdom, we are happy to believe, than the rights of property, or of those of an exclusive caste. Besides, it is an error to presume that the rights of property can be dissociated or in any wise separated from the rights of the masses. But the spectacle of maintain-

* *Vide*, p. 66, *et seq.* The italics are his.

ing by political cunning, rights obtained by military force, or civil prowess, is by no means an edifying one.

The most fundamental right of all is the right to life. In this right are included all the privileges and advantages that make life desirable or worth living—of value to itself or an honor to its Maker. And to permit a human being to exist and withhold from him the means to turn that existence to good account in the divine economy, is a crime too heinous for us to venture to characterize in language it deserves. And when we reflect upon the frequency with which that crime is perpetrated in the very heart of Christendom, we cannot but sympathize with the atheistical sentiment of the fool referred to by the Psalmist, who said in his heart "There is no God;" for the power that dominates society and shapes its course to-day is a greed-god, of such stalwart proportions as to naturally excite skepticism of the existence of that all-powerful, benignant Father whom good people instinctively believe in and confidingly worship.

Infinite greed! The Colossus of self, incarnated! Yes, that is the power that assails the rights of humanity, and, like a sponge on a rock, sucks and saps and appropriates the life of things, regardless of interests not its own! Who can live in contact with its wonderful absorbing powers, endowed not with equal powers of absorption? Having taken forcible possession of the earth and everything of value therein, it ignores the claims of friend and foe, kindred and alien, neighbor and stranger alike; places humanity under tribute; dictates terms and conditions to industry; and prescribes jails and poor-houses, charity and prisons, indiscriminately, to those who accept and to those who reject its proceedings—to those who work on its terms, and to those who do not; for honest industry, under the conditions imposed by this greed-god, is no protection against pauperism, even if its victims do happily escape the penitentiary.*

* We are credibly informed that a trusted clerk, for fifty years in the service of the Astors of New York, now an old man, is a pauper to the estate of the late Mr. Wm. B. Astor. That he retained his position so long is sufficient testimony to his honesty, fidelity and frugality. Yet the savings from his wages were inadequate to preserve him from want and dependence in his old age. We modestly suggest that the wages were deficient.

Now, it is obvious that a condition of society which encourages the growth of monopolies and privileged classes, or which permits their existence, is grossly abnormal. Such a condition of society exists to-day. The rights of the masses are continually encroached upon; the masses themselves are kept under ban. Capital, the product of the masses, has become an instrument to assail them—the real producers of it—with deadly effect; labor is despoiled of its just reward; and the laborer rendered by it not unfrequently unworthy of his hire.

Christianity was wont to exalt poverty to the rank of a virtue, and to decry wealth as a grave peril to the future welfare of its possessor. But the Christian sentiment on this subject has wisely changed somewhat—at least, the example, if not the precept. It is manifestly absurd to deride that which furnishes the wherewith to keep soul and body together, and provides that without which life would not be worth the living. Wealth gives luxury and the means of æsthetic culture; the want of it causes penury, privation and wretchedness. And for this reason, fair play in the struggle of life is indispensable to moral progress, if not to political order. It is not too much to say that upon the proper adjustment of equivalents in the business relations of human beings, so that every man has what he earns and gives an equivalent for what he takes, hangs for the mass of mankind the issues of freedom or slavery, serfdom or proprietorship, political subjection or independence; and in the scale of social value, individual consequence or inconsequence; for in the civilization of the nineteenth century in the Western world, the social influence of a man is determined in no small degree by his bank account, the loans he has out on call, and the amount of gold-paying bonds or paid-up stocks he has in his safe. Say what we may in praise of the "best government the sun ever shone upon," the freedom of the press, or the personal liberty of the citizen in America, this is the unfortunate aspect of political affairs to-day. And so it is that the problem of civilization for the masses ever presents itself, whatever form of government prevails.

It is impossible for any individual of average intelligence

to be oblivious of the increasing tendency in Christendom to social distinctions and inequality; alienation of interests; the formation of rings, unions, monopolies, &c., all of which is inconsistent with a good government. Much of this is necessary to protect labor from the oppression of capital, and to secure the weak against the encroachments of the strong, and the strong from trespass on each other. By these means the poverty of the poorer classes has been ameliorated to some extent. Still, while the condition of the middle class in Europe and America has greatly improved; is, in fact, superior to anything hitherto known in Christendom, that of the laboring masses, the men, women and children, who till the soil, grade and pave the streets and roadways, run the machine-shops and factories, and do the common drudgery of society, that others may be well-fed, clothed, housed and otherwise comfortably provided for, is but slightly ameliorated from the wretchedness of a few centuries ago. Side by side with the most prodigal luxury, in any large city or commercial centre, may be seen the most pitiable destitution. Elegant turn-outs, costly equipages and expensive toilets; dog-carts, mendicant-cripples, half-clad scavengers and starving women and children, make up the partial panorama of the public highway. The sight of disease, want and pauperism—legitimate products of injustice and oppression every one—is so common in every corner of Christendom that the heart becomes callous to human suffering, and the ear deaf to charitable appeals. The devout optimist looks with complacency on this picture of human misery and seeks consolation in the belief that the world is under the special care and ministration of a wise Governor, whose thoughts are not our thoughts, and whose ways are not our ways; that the discord, so widespread and manifest in the relations of men, is harmony not understood; "that all partial evil is universal good;" and that injustice here will somehow be made right there, in the shadowy realms beyond.

That may be such a system of human rewards has been promulgated among the low-born members of the race from time immemorial; and, we believe, with the effect to make them

more contented with their lot. Christ taught the doctrine to the lowly and despised of Judea; and it was largely due to this teaching that his name was so endeared to the common people, and that his influence became the power it was among them in the subsequent centuries. "What are a few years of toil, privation, pain and sorrow," the primitive propagandists of Christianity might have said, "compared with the eternity of bliss that waits upon the life to come. Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and concern not thyself with the manner or means by which Cæsar came with them. Submit quietly and in peace to be enslaved, thou and thy children, and thy children's children, to the will and service of thy covetous and powerful neighbor." "Better a dog in peace than a man in anarchy."* "Let him kill thy body if he will, thy soul dost still survive! Thou and thine wilt be abundantly compensated, and thy unjust neighbor receive his just deserts, at the final judgment. Dost thou not remember the reward of that humble but filthy beggar Lazarus, and the fate of the rich and luxurious Dives? Be patient with thy lot, even though it be that of Lazarus. Thy tongue shalt not be parched in the eternal fires, and if it shouldst be, thou at least shalt not want for water to slake thy thirst in the eternity to come, as did Dives!"

This weak logic of the early mystics and supernaturalists could not but have had a powerful influence on the masses to induce them to abdicate their heaven-born rights of equality and manhood, and to withdraw from the world and the performance of a man's share in the conduct of it. Nor is it altogether inoperative to-day. Dazed by the grandeur of that life, after seeming death, which the experience of Jesus so vividly and unmistakably revealed to the lowest and most mortal of dullards, and the meanest and most dullard of mortals, it is by no means strange that the fallacy of the logic which put the rule of the world into the hands of the few and reduce the many to dependence and subjection should not have been detected and exposed. The light which so suddenly illumined the mental darkness of the poor and despised of that age, and revealed to them the splendors of an age to come, in

*Chinese maxim.

which the poor here were to be rich then and there, temporarily overshadowed reason and the common mind. Time and enlightenment were necessary to re-enthrone them and restore their authority and influence in the common life. To us it is self-evident that the best preparation one can make for heaven, admitting that to be the highest goal for which one should strive, is that which best prepares one for earth. It is becoming to be suspected, that the soul in some way shares the fortune, if not the fate, of the body; that the wreck of one affects the welfare of the other. To ignore the advantages of this life, therefore, is to deny ourselves those of that to come; for it is subjective benefits, and not objective possessions, that count in the final and larger test of values—mind, rather than matter, to which the highest place is reserved and the chiefest honor paid in the heavenly kingdom. And it is perfectly evident to the average mortal that mind of a superior order cannot be secured except through ministrations to be had on terms marked down in the price current. Hence, performing one's part here—doing one's work now—assuming and discharging with fidelity one's trusts on earth, making the most of time, place and opportunity, is needful to fit one to enter upon, and assume, the higher life and trusts in the kingdom to come. And it is impossible for one, with the light of history to aid his vision, to be oblivious of the fact that the failure of one man or of many men to do the full measure of their part in the world's work, brings wrong and injustice to the individual and the race alike. Such is the reciprocity of influences in human life that no one can become a slave without at the same time creating a master; accept injustice without inviting its perpetration; submit to any wrong without encouraging wrong-doing; and that system of philosophy, religious or political, which encourages the counter view is a moral soporific of most mischievous and far reaching consequences.

The questions involved in the problem of democracy, therefore, possess greater moral and intellectual significance than those which do ordinarily engage the attention of politicians and political parties. They are the same to-day that they were nineteen hundred years ago, and will be nineteen hundred

years to come. They are not legal ones to be turned over to the courts for adjudication; nor political, to be decided by packed caucuses of party conventions; nor religious, to be settled by œcumenical councils or resolutions of ecclesiastical bodies. Were they exclusively any of these their proper adjustment would easily follow their formal reference to one of these tribunals. But they are too grave and intricate to be adjusted by any single tribunal, judicial, ecclesiastical or political, since they comprehend the Rights of Man—the principle of Justice in the dealings of man with man and men with men; fair play in the struggle for existence; equality in property interests, worldly preferment, civil rights, political privileges and guarantees. So far as a government is able to secure these ends to the individual, and to administer exact and equal justice to all its members, impartially, it fulfils its functions and is wise and salutary; and so far as it fails in these things, so far, and to that extent, it comes short of fulfilling these ideal ends, and is unwise and defective whatever be its form or mode of administration.

The late Dr. Frances Lieber, advanced substantially the same idea: "To speak of civilized nations" he writes, "that government ought to be good which amply protects and in which every man can obtain justice; which for its existence does not require a class by whose privileges others are injured, be this a wrongly privileged aristocracy, or democracy, or party. That government is best under which we find the greatest number of laws and institutions, essential to the state with which the nation works heart and hand for just and great ends." *

Were the status of democracy in America judged by this high standard of political justice it is evident that it would be found wanting. It would doubtless contrast favorably with the best governments of Europe and Asia in this respect; but, still, the exhibit would not be such as to please a political critic, or justify the vain boasting of empty-headed admirers of democratic institutions. The personal liberty of an American

*_Political Ethics._ Vol. I, p. 317.

citizen is assured to a degree beyond comparison with that of any other contemporary nation. Indeed, barring certain abuses which certain corporate bodies may indulge, with more or less impunity, towards individuals who happen to be obnoxious to them, the liberty of an American is so complete as to almost amount to license. He is as free to do wrong as right. He is so free politically that he may practise iniquity *ad libitum* upon himself, and indirectly upon those dependent upon him, to the moral enslavement of both. But if there is anything in this particularly to be proud of, we fail to see it. So long as the individual has not attained unto perfect moral freedom, and is not a law therefore unto himself, such a liberty is incompatible with the attainment of a high social condition. Personal objects are sought under it, at the expense of the general welfare, and, therefore, in the end, to the injury of the offending individual himself. And herein will be observed the wide difference between ancient and modern democracy, in favor, in our view, of the former. In the ancient system of democracy, to which we refer, the interest of the individual was subordinate to that of the State. "The safety of the State is their principal problem; the safety of the individual is one of our greatest."* The welfare of the State was supreme in their view, not because the *jus naturale*, or the natural rights of man, were ignored or misapprehended by them; but because the highest good of the individual is inseparably bound up in the welfare of the State; and it is perfectly obvious to statesmen of to-day—if any there be—that in the stability and orderly condition of society repose the hopes of the individual for right and justice, and his only safeguard against the aggression and tyranny of those stronger than himself. Besides, in the organization of individuals, on a basis of equity and natural right, which constitutes the ideal state, advantages both moral and physical are secured to all, which could not possibly be obtained by any, by disunited, individual effort. This fact is illustrated in the superiority of civilization in cities over that which obtains in scattered, or isolated communities, the rationale of which is too self-evident for serious argument.

* Lieber's *Political Ethics*. Vol. I, p. 359.

It is not illogical to maintain, therefore, in conformity with the illustrious statesmen of antiquity, foremost among whom stands Aristotle himself, that absolute liberty of the individual is an ideal condition, which man should indeed aspire to, and struggle for, as the ultimate of his earthly hope, but which by himself, unaided, he can never achieve. It is something to be conferred on him, not accomplished by him individually. Under the ordinary conditions of human life man is beset by a thousand foes against which he is as powerless to struggle single handed, as a feather in the wind, or drift-wood in a flood. A well-organized body politic is alone equal to successfully contend with them and protect the individual against irretrievable disaster, and guide his erring footsteps toward the blessed haven of his hopes. To promote this desirable end personal liberty must be subordinate to the general welfare.

In the present initiative condition of the race equity, rather than liberty, is the principle which should be the object of our immediate concern. Though equity to equality is the true order of the state; for without equality there cannot be general, political and moral freedom. And without these elements personal liberty is a delusion and a snare.

The present status of American society affords abundant evidence in proof of our position. It is idle to disguise the fact that despite personal liberty, freedom of the press, independence of the judiciary, etc., some of the worst evils that ever cursed European politics are being engendered in ours. Covetousness has seized upon the common mind. The attachment to party is stronger than the love of truth. Public dishonesty is the rule; public virtue the exception. The fear of confession is a stronger emotion than the fear of a wrong, or of a falsehood. A lie persistently and vehemently reiterated is regarded as good as the truth. And it is not uncommon in both the state and national legislatures to witness the spectacle of senators and vice-presidents solemnly denying charges of official peculation, in the face of their own letters and check-vouchers, and boldly continuing to perform their official functions in defiance of both charge and evidence! But this is not the worst. Ministers of finance have covertly

interfered with the stock market in the interest of speculators who happen to be their friends, and given official information for the benefit of parties in their confidence and esteem. Presidents have been bargained for by political demagogues years in advance of their election. The will of the people is nowhere; political wire-pulling, everywhere. Even vacancies in the Supreme Court of the nation have been filled with the view of influencing decisions of contingent questions. Judges are bribed and legislators are bought and sold for money, like bonds in the market, in the interest of rings, monopolies and corporations, and against the interest, peace and order of the individual and society.

To such a pass has official peculation come that no man can collect a claim against the general government, or secure a business charter from the state legislature, except he pay a large per cent. to a go-between at Washington in the one case, and a handsome lobby-fee in the other. So notorious have these facts become that a poor man is debarred a successful application for a charter, and a government creditor is compelled to augment his claim sufficiently to cover the charges of the claim-agent or solicitor.* The by-way—we will not say, *high-way*—to an office with a respectable salary, is so hedged about by craft on the part of the political aspirant, and made the occasion of gain by the poor wretches whose votes are necessary to elect him, that no one of moderate means, whatever be his show of ability, would presume to

* The writer happens to be personally familiar with the details of an instance of a gentleman of the highest integrity, who, during the late war, presented a just bill against the government at Washington for payment. All the formalities in regard to the bill were duly carried out and the customary rules and regulations complied with; but still his bill was not paid. A politician intimated to him the cause of the delay; that he should put the matter in the hands of a solicitor to procure a settlement, etc. At first the proposition was refused, but subsequently he was obliged to yield and allow a large per cent. to a third party through whom the claim was promptly paid. Many instances have come to the writer's personal knowledge of gentlemen of moderate means spending all the funds they could command at Albany to secure the passage by the legislature of a simple business charter—and failing in the first attempt—then.

enter the contest. The longest purse has a decided advantage in such a contest and is sure to win. It is no wonder, therefore, that the successful candidate, having won by so large an expenditure of time and money, embraces such opportunities as his position affords to retrieve his fortune, or repay his outlay.

It is thus, moreover, that mediocrity in both virtue and talent gains ascendency in the councils of the government; while the best blood of the nation is remanded to private life. The rich accede to official position and power by virtue of their moneyed influence, though they may be as unlettered as Gen. Grant or Blind Tom, and as ignorant of the science of government as the most benighted patron of lager bier, or Celtic disciple of St. Patrick; and naturally carry into places of trust and responsibility the rules and principles which shaped their course behind their counters, in the stock exchange, or market place. It is notorious that the present Congress of the United States is honored by the presence of no distinguished scholar or man of science. The present Cabinet, too, with one or two exceptions, is equally deficient in scholars, though justice requires it to be said that it contains many worthy and estimable men; and that the chief executive, while not distinguished for scholarship, shows qualities of mind and heart which promise well for his future repute and the nation, albeit his tenure of office was secured by political chicane and not by the popular voice. So, likewise, men are selected to fill posts under executive appointment on account of political service rendered their chief, rather than scholarly acquirements, or distinguished ability. Thus, by a singular coincidence, the delegate who nominated the present executive for president is rewarded by the latter the position of minister to France. One of the first notable acts of ex-President Grant was to displace a distinguished scholar and historian * from his position as minis-

* While we write these lines a cable telegram announces the death of the distinguished scholar to whom we refer. Mr. Motley died in Holland, May 31, 1877. Thus has passed away in the pride of manhood and in the youth of his fame another of America's ablest sons, the peer of Sumner, Prescott and Irving.

ter to England, and to appoint in his stead a party magnate whose first public act was to disgrace the position, as well as the nation he represented! One would naturally conclude from these things that the Republic was not in need of scholars. So low has the grade of official character notoriously become, and so mediocre the statesmanship of the nation, as to be subjects of note by the most casual observers at home and abroad. More than thirty years ago, this feature of official mediocrity was so noticeable as to lead M. de Tocqueville to remark, that he "was surprised to find so much distinguished talent among the subjects, and so little among the heads of the government" in America. Even so accurate and philosophical an observer as he, seems not to have discerned the true cause of so noticeable an anomaly; but wrongly attributed it to a distaste, on the part of men of distinguished talent, for official position. And there are many semi-intelligent people in America to-day who deceive themselves by taking a similar view of the anomaly.

M. de Tocqueville, however, makes another observation equally pertinent in this connection, and as ominous as it is pertinent: "It is a constant fact," he writes, "that at the present day, the ablest men in the United States are rarely placed at the head of affairs; and it must be acknowledged that such has been the result in proportion as democracy has outstripped all its former limits. The race of American statesmen has evidently dwindled most remarkably in the course of the last fifty years."*

If this could be truthfully said of the United States, a quarter of a century or more ago, in the palmy days of the Republic, when men like Cass, Clay, Webster, Marshall, Seward, &c., were prominent in political life, how much more noteworthy is it to-day, when those men and many other statesmen of like ability are deceased, and mostly politicians are left to fill—say, rather, occupy their places? The distinguished writer just cited was a warm admirer of American institutions, and a firm believer in the triumph of Democracy, both here and in France. Had he lived to witness the present

*_Democracy in America._ I. c. xiii, p. 253-4.

aspects of political affairs in America, his faith in Democracy would still have remained, but his estimate of American statesmanship could not but have dwindled materially, even from the low standard he put upon it in 1848.

Carlyle has forcibly said that, "no one man can depart from the truth without damage to himself; no one million of men. * * * * Show me a nation anywhere in this course, so that each expects it, permits it to others and himself, I will show you a nation travelling with one assent on the broadway."* And all history affirms with one involuntary echo his ability to make good his assertion. The calm words of Dr. Francis Lieber, expressed with equal force, but less piquancy, are to the same effect. He writes:

"Excessive ambition, excessive attachment to kinsmen or friends, excessive party attachment, excessive shame to confess wrong, excessive love of action, all have become at times injurious to the state, and may most seriously disturb its essential prosperity; but none of all these passions can be compared in their baneful effects to public dishonesty. All the former may still co-exist with some redeeming qualities; we may think even of conspirators against their country, impelled by criminal ambition, not without feeling horror indeed, yet without actual loathing; but we cannot so regard a band of peculators. Peculation presupposes meanness and total degradation, which do not absolutely belong to the ambitious conspirator. A man who commits knowingly a wrong for money, who *sells* himself, has been considered the most abject of evil-doers, and may be supposed ready to commit all the evil acts of the others besides his own crime. *So soon as covetousness becomes general in a civilized nation; so soon as dishonesty is a general crime; so soon as public places are considered by common consent as fair oppertunities to enrich their holders; willing to wink at each other's embezzlements; so soon as parties consider themselves by their success entitled to the spoils of the public—so soon there is a deadly cancer in the vitals of that society, and hardly anything but severe changes and revolutions can save it.*" †

While these distinguished authors have the universal teachings of history in support of conclusions so eminently rational and just, it does not necessarily follow that a nation thus politically infected may not contain within itself the leaven of its own purification. The political is not altogether unlike the human body.

**Past and Present*, p. 178.

† *Political Ethics*. Vol. I, p. 464. The Italics are ours

An infection of an individual is sometimes the occasion for a healthier moral tone. As an eruptive disease, like small-pox, or measles, sometimes transforms a turbulent character into one of sweetness and placability, so an infection of thieving, gambling, stock-jobbing, and other forms of legal, political peculation which so frequently seize upon the body politic, may be of signal benefit to a vain and selfish people in bringing them down on their knees—teaching them humility, compelling them to change their guilty course and to modestly seek guidance of wisdom. Something of this sort it did for England in the seventeenth century, when political morality was at a confessedly lower ebb than it is in America to-day.* And it was equally efficacious for France,† under like circumstances, toward the close of the eighteenth century. If those nations could rally from the depths of political corruption into which they were sunk at the periods to which we refer, there is certainly hope for democracy in America. Heaven grant that the American people may escape the dire penance which was inflicted upon France and England, since it is the guilty that escape and the innocent that have to suffer the penalty of political wrong-doing.

In view of this anomalous condition of American politics—or of the "political crisis in the United States," as a contemporary calls it—as if democracy was not always and properly, in a crisis—the public clamor is for laws and constitutional amendments, as if the laws were not already in excess, and the constitution had not been patched until the original document were well-nigh unrecognizable! The most stable government on the face of the earth, be it observed, is without a constitution; and as for laws, no people were ever so well supplied with them as ourselves. Our digests and reports are so numerous that no attorney in active practice has time to become familiar with them; and the statutes are changed so

* *Vide* the reign of Charles II and the character of his chief advisers, popularly known as the *Cabal*. Hume's *History of England*. Vol. VI, p. 82 *et seq*.

† *Vide* Guizot's *Histoire de France*, for information in respect of the political morality of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, at Paris.

frequently to suit the demands of some new occasion that few practitioners can keep the run of them.

We respectfully maintain, therefore, that it is neither multiplicity of laws nor multiplicity of amendments to the national constitution that the hour demands. It is public virtue personified in *men* and *women* of which the nation is in most urgent need. The best laws badly administered are worse than bad laws wisely administered. Or, as Montesquieu has better expressed it: "When the principles of the government are corrupt, the best laws become bad and operate against the State; when the principles of the government are sound, bad laws have the effect of good ones."* Let there be intelligence, honor and virtue displayed in the affairs of State and the fewer the laws the better. Without these indispensable elements in the administration of public affairs, the most cunningly devised and ingeniously multiplied laws will be of no avail. Nothing in the past experience of mankind is more demonstrable than this, and we forbear, therefore, to dilate upon it.

The most famous republics of the past took special care that none but trained hands and wise heads should devise the laws and administer the government. No one was eligible to a post of official responsibility in the early days of Thebes who had worked at a trade within ten years, so carefully was the government guarded from the dangers of incompetence. And it could not but redound to the glory and advantage of the United States if they were equally zealous of the standing and qualification of their officials. It would be unwise, of course, to discriminate as did Thebes; but other and more just lines of discrimination might easily be adopted by them to secure the end which is so much to be desired. By these means, too, much of the evil and all the danger of universal suffrage would be abated and removed.

Apropos of official qualification and the reform of the civil

* "Lorsque les principes du gouvernement sont une fois corrompus, les meilleures lois deviennent mauvaises et se tournent contre l'Etat; lorsque les principes en sont sains, les mauvaises lois ont l'effet des bonnes: la force du principe entraîne tout."—Montesquieu's, *De l'Esprit des Lois*, c. xi.

service of the national government of which one hears so much to-day in the discussion of party politics, the suggestions of Dr. Lieber may not be altogether out of place. At the risk, then, of placing before the reader matter which he is not unlikely to regard as utopian, we extract a brief paragraph, chiefly for the benefit and edification of those seeking positions under the government:

"Keep yourself independent, which includes first, as a matter of course, a total discarding of that silly and little-minded desire to rival your rich neighbor in his way of living; and secondly, that you should be possessed of the means of maintaining yourself, be this by the possession of a moderate property, or a profession, or trade (Spinoza was a glass-grinder); and, that these means may be easily acquired (for otherwise you would not feel independent), reduce your wants to the lowest degree compatible with a continued communion with your fellow-beings, by way of intercourse with your neighbors, and by way of books with the distant and dead, on the one hand, and a decorous but modest maintenance of your family and the sound education of your children on the other." *

But what a change in the tendency of American politics must take place ere Dr. Lieber's advice could be acted upon! If the day ever comes when such principles bear sway among the masses, and actuate the conduct of those who seek places of trust, official or otherwise, it can be brought about only by a most rigid system of moral and intellectual discipline. It can never be effected by the chief executive or by laws. It is manifest that the agencies of the Church and School, rather than those of laws, franchises and constitutions, must play the more important part in effecting so happy a consummation. Let the Church be purified, therefore, and awakened to a sense of her high responsibility in the matter of setting an example of right living as well as correct thinking. The efficiency of the schools, both public and private should likewise be increased, that a thorough, sound and practical education may be within the reach of every youth ambitious to participate in the affairs of State. By these means it is obviously not too much to hope that ere the lapse of another centennial year,

* *Political Ethics.* Vol. I, p. 463.

the "ship of State" will have men at the helm with clean hands and clear heads, and exhibit in her conduct a majesty of bearing that will rejoice the heart of the patriot and excite the admiration of mankind. This is the true road to civil service reform, rough and difficult though it be. By no other course can competency and faithfulness in public servants and the citizen be secured; justice in administering the laws maintained, and equality and fraternity in the state assured. It has already been observed that, primarily, equality is the safeguard of Democracy, as it is the security of the citizen; but equality is possible only by the general diffusion of a genuine culture. *Que facit veritatem venit ad lucem.*

NOTICES AND CRITICISMS

HISTORY.

The Papacy and the Civil Power. By R. W. THOMPSON. 12° pp. 750. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1876.

WHATEVER difference of opinion intelligent men and women may honestly entertain respecting the logical tendency of the doctrines and pretensions of the See of Rome, intrenched as she is with an organizatlon the most perfect and systematic that human genius can devise, there are less grounds for difference of opinion respecting the propriety of bringing so grave an indictment against that power as our amiable secretary of the navy has drawn up in the volume before us. The author disclaims, at the outset, having been actuated by prejudice or ill-will against or toward Roman Catholicism; but his pages everywhere give evidence, if not of prejudice, certainly of a bitter spirit, sectarian feeling and a judgment strongly biased by preconceived ideas. If this be not prejudice, we know not in what terms to characterize it. He gravely says:

"* * * The followers [supporters] of the papacy in the United States, with creditable exceptions, are concentrating their exertions with wonderful unanimity, in order to reforge the discarded fetters of papal tyranny, and to manacle with them the limbs of the purest and happiest population upon earth." (p. 26.)

In all his pages there is a lack of that catholicity of feeling which is characteristic of charity, and that comprehensiveness of thought which marks the style of the thinker; and nothing could be more unfortunate in a writer who essays to write on so delicate a subject.

The author strangely ignores the fact that, be the faults and tendency of the Church of Rome what they may, she is the queen mother of all the churches that bear the name of Christ; that it is from her that all the other and minor Christian churches have received the pap of life—those cherished and revered dogmas ecclesiastical, which constitute the warp and woof of all of them. But if dogmas were all that the protestant sects are indebted to the Roman Church for, we should feel disposed to let this indictment stand. But they are not. Our protestant brethren have received from her lore a code of ethics and morality which is, in some respects, superior to any the world has known. Nor is this

all: had it not been for the blood of her martyrs there had been for us no Christianity. The power and prestige of Christianity have been chiefly born of the heroic devotion of a long line of self-sacrificing saints, whose names even it is sacrilege for the greedy lips of time-serving, grasping church-goers of this age to speak! Be not so fast, my Christian brother, with thy indictment. Ingratitude is the basest injustice. Consult the chief oracle of thy faith, and see to it that thou dost not make the unjust conduct of others the justification of thine own.

In our study of church history and doctrines, it has seemed to us that the theological differences between the original Church and its branches are, in truth, very slight, not sufficient in themselves to constitute a reasonable basis of serious discussion. Give each sect a high court of last appeal, to decide points of doctrines and lines of polity, and we make bold to affirm, without fear of contradiction, that the resemblance between them would be most striking. The tendency of each would also be the same—nay, is the same—toward tyranny. While we write these words, a venerable brother of the Calvinistic persuasion is on trial in New Jersey for heresy; and his vain appeal to the presbytery for charitable consideration is most touching. That he will be suspended from his labors by a piece of paper, and not by burning, is not owing to the fact that he lives under the shadow of Dr. McCosh instead of that of Dr. Calvin, or to any change or modification of the ecclesiastical tendency, but rather to the antagonizing, anti-ecclesiastical spirit of the civil power. Dr. McCosh, had he the power as did Calvin, would feel it his painful duty to kindle the fagots around the heretical Dr. Miller. As it is, he only suspends him from his *living*. And why should he not do so, if the propagation of error sends people to perdition? Is it not better that one man should be burnt at the stake than that scores of souls should be burnt in hell? "If thine eye offend thee pluck it out," etc. Let us be consistent—if it takes both eyes.

We insist that the most valid objection which either protestants or rationalists have to urge against catholics is the unity of *opinion and belief* which subsists among them, rather than the opinion and belief themselves. The catholics are strong in their unity; the protestants are weak in their divisions. The elementary principles are substantially identical. Both take the Bible as their inspired oracle of faith and practice, the one with constituted interpreters, the other, without. The natural consequence is, therefore, that while one has an invariable, uniform, and consistent system of doctrine, the other is embarrassed with a Babel of tongues, and warring beliefs, involving the truth or falsity of the very tenets which both parties regard as essential to the future welfare of the human soul! Who is so great a novice in logic as not to see that, if believing a lie be perilous, it is morally incumbent on those who know the truth—or think they do—to prevent

the individual from so serious a danger as error, even at the risk of depriving him of civil liberty, or of taking off his head if he be dangerous to the multitude? The courts of law do not hold a man, or a community, guiltless, who—having the means to save a human being from injury, even self-inflicted—neglects to make all possible use of them to that end. But how much guiltier is a professed soul-saving organization, that, out of respect for personal liberty, civil rights, etc., stands idly by, refusing to use all means in its power to save imperilled souls from the awful fate of eternal damnation? Civil liberty is a phrase of rational extraction, not ecclesiastical; and if it can only be enjoyed here, at the risk of peril beyond, we say, for ourselves, that we cannot afford it at that price. An eternity of immunity from suffering in the life beyond this is something too priceless to be bartered for the privilege of doing my own erring will, or having my own feeble choice of living and thinking for the brief space of time allotted to me on earth. And we never could understand or appreciate the mental state of an orthodox Christian who, in presence of the peril in which he believes—or professes to believe—his unconverted neighbor daily lives, can eat and sleep, drive sharp bargains, etc., with that degree of tranquillity which he evidently does. Were he to go mad in contemplating the dire calamity which befalls the majority of his neighbors—his unbelieving relatives and friends—he would be deserving of higher respect and consideration, and his faith would escape the blight of skepticism which his *sang-froid* demeanor puts upon it. We speak as an orthodox protestant.

Macaulay has said that "a history in which every particular is true may, on the whole, be false." And he who applies the rigid rules of logic in the discussion of religious or theological questions will certainly reach a fallacious conclusion, though the facts with which he deals were unquestionable. We think Mr. Thompson has reasoned well upon the facts in his possession. Nor has he, so far as we have examined his work, falsified the historical records—though he has frequently misapprehended *terms*. But he has evidently given too little weight to that system of checks and balances—to the centripetal force in mankind, which prevents any course of thought, or line of action, reaching its legitimate end or logical conclusion. It was but a year or two since the civilized world was convulsed with fear at the prospect that a comet was likely to collide with the earth and envelope us with its long tail of burning flame. This result seemed inevitable from mathematical calculation; and had no check interposed to divert its course, the grave prediction of the faithless wise would have been fulfilled. The effect of the centrifugal force in matter is to impel the earth in a direction out of its proper orbit, and were it not for the influence of the centripetal, or antagonizing force, also in matter, the earth at this moment would be crashing

among the orbs of space; and he who reasons on the tendency of one, oblivious of that of the other, would manifestly arrive at a conclusion very wide from the truth.

If this be true of the forces which control masses of matter, it is not less so of the forces which move and mould the body and mind of man. In the course and progress of civilization, two opposing or antagonizing principles are continually displayed, the civil or secular, and the theologic or ecclesiastical. The dominance of one leads to civil atheism; the dominance of the other, to religious despotism; and, between the two, civil and religious liberty, or civilization is, or will be, ultimately achieved. And we repeat, that the dominance of an ecclesiasticism, of whatever form or persuasion, results in despotism, with its accompanying brood of horrors. The intelligent reader needs not to be pointed to historical illustrations in proof of our statement. He is quite familiar with the career of John Calvin at Geneva and the circumstances that lead to his burning our noble brother, Dr. Michael Servitus. The intolerance of the Presbyterians under the Protectorate in England, during which Episcopalians, Jews, Quakers and witches shared a common fate, is equally familiar to him. Then, look at the cruel despotism of the "Establishment," after the Restoration and before! The crimes which she perpetrated in the name of religion would put a modern barbarian to shame. More recent still, was the despotic rule of the Puritans in New England. It is true they did not murder heretics outright, under the influence of religious fanaticism, but they did outlaw them, pillage their homes and confiscate their property. The hanging and burning frenzy of which they were possessed was vented on the poor, diseased and suffering witches. If the catholic zealots did worse things in Spain and France than these, it was because they had the power to do them, and by no means because they were worse or better than the protestant zealots to whom we have referred, or because the sequences of their ecclesiastical polity were different. The principle in each is the same, and the development of it is limited in both by its opportunity for free, unconstrained exercise.

We have made these observations with the view of pointing out the philosophical weakness of Mr. Thompson's book. He is blind to the fact that mankind have long since ceased to hold dogmas to a strict accountability. While the author is honest and sincere in his views, and is animated—we had almost said, "enthused"—with a spirit we cannot but admire, and a purpose assuredly above reproach, his perspective is altogether too narrow. One would suppose that he was ignorant of the checks which the temporal aspirations of the Holy See have recently received in Italy,* and still more recently, in Catholic Austria and Spain.

* And yet he is not altogether so. "There is not left in all the earth," he wrongly and ungrammatically writes, "a single government with either the inclination or the power to defend the papacy, *nor* a single square mile of territory over which its temporal sceptre can be wielded." p. 26.

And, surely, if the civil authority in catholic countries like these is in the ascendency, why sound the tocsin of alarm in America against the encroachments of Rome? Such a course can only have the effect to estrange brothers and sisters of a common country, and widen the difference between members of the same family, children of the same lineage, and worshippers of the same God. And it would have been wiser in our author to have left the subject where he found it, "to be judged by an Authority far higher than any earthly tribunal—at the final bar, where we shall all meet—and by a Judge to whose sentence, whether of approval or condemnation, every one of us must submit." (p. 4.)

The literary quality of the volume is marked by grave and inexcusable deficiencies. The sectarian bias of the author is a sufficient disqualification for so delicate a task; but he frankly confesses to a want of scholarly acquirements to a degree, if true—and we can readily believe it—that still further unfits him for his work. He writes:

"As my inquiries have been prosecuted in the midst of active business occupations, with the assistance of only a *very limited* and self-acquired knowledge of *classical learning*, and *with no access to a single authority, or volume beyond my own private library*, this book is not designed for the instruction of the educated classes, who have the means of making like inquiries for themselves. It is intended for *the people*, who, in the main, are without these means, and *who are the final arbiters upon* [*of*] *all public questions*." (p. 8.) The italics are mostly ours.

Unless we are mistaken, if there is one subject within the confines of human knowledge, the discussion of which demands thorough scholarship, extensive learning and a wide acquaintance with the works of others, this is the one. To presume to enlighten "the people" who are certainly *not* the arbiters of public questions like this, without possessing those qualifications demanded of one who aspires to occupy the high pedestal of a teacher, is a grave piece of presumption. The volume, despite a certain warmth and vigor of style which interests the reader, shows greater literary deficiencies than we were prepared to expect, even after reading the author's apologetic preface. For instance, in the first paragraph of his book he says: "And if the conclusions I have reached are not satisfactory to others, I shall be satisfied if *they* are stimulated," &c. Conclusions stimulated? If not, why not?

In the next paragraph, our author speaks of "the *prejudice* of education." He evidently means the *bias* of education. Then we read of the *different* States and territories. (p. 20.) In another connection he states that "all the States have *universally* recognized," &c. (p. 71.) On page 85, he indulges *polemic* controversy; and in the same paragraph we find "in *des*pite of"; also, that "they hoped to remove the difficulty *out of the way*."

The author's thought is not always clear, and his expression is, therefore, often wanting in conciseness and lucidity. For example, he expresses some anxiety lest the *theory* of self-government

may prove "a disastrous failure" (p. 86.) It occurs to us, that the failure of self-government itself would be more disastrous than the failure of any possible *theory* of it. On page 89, free-masonry is referred to "as *already* under the curse of several popes *before the present one.*" We read, too, that Urban VIII, imprisoned Galileo *during life.* (p. 92.) Then, he speaks of the light *from* their reason, (p. 97); of hope being "excited *in his mind*" (p. 106). Where else, pray, could it have been excited? And on page 110, he gravely says the "imagination of the Pontiff was *enthused.*" Then, for a change, we have "*civil* and religious protestantism," (p. 113); system of *policy*, (p. 117); and a misquotation of Scripture: "Search the Scriptures for in *them* [ye think] ye have eternal life" (p. 77). On page 119, we read, "The enterprise was of grand proportions, but it so happens that God disposes of the schemes of men as is most suited to His own providential government." If this be so, why all this anxiety about papal aggression? The word "numerous" is used for *many* in "numerous" instances. Important words and unimportant prepositions are misused, and bad grammar and worse taste are very common throughout the work.

But this will do. While errors of the kind we have indicated, may be found in great profusion in the book, they are by no means its most serious defects. Nevertheless, defects like these, cannot but lower in no small degree, the respect which books of a polemical character ought to command from the intelligent public. The subject is an ill-advised one, and no ill-prepared author should write on it, "for self-edification" or otherwise, with the intent to publish. But since it has been done, we hope the author will profit by the suggestions of his friendly critics, in which category we certainly wish to be included, and give us a new edition of his work in which the faults of the old shall have been duly eliminated. We cannot but marvel that a house of so high a repute as that of the Messrs. Harper & Brothers, should issue a volume on so important a subject without a thorough revision of the proof-sheets.

Finally, those who write on the relation of Church and State, would do well to heed these noble words of that great Christian exemplar and theologian of the second century, the illustrious Tertullian:

"At enim nobis ab omni gloriæ et dignitatis ardore frigentibus nulla est necessitas cœtus, nec ulla magis res aliena, quam publica. Unam omnium rempublicam agnoscimus,—mundum."

EDUCATION.

Public Libraries in the United States of America; their History, Condition and Management. Special Report of the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education. Hon. JOHN EATON, *Commissioner.* Edited by Messrs. S. R. WARREN and S. N. CLARK. 8° pp. 1187. Washington, D. C.: 1876.

THE volume which the Commissioner of Education, Hon. John Eaton, has given to the public in the form of a special report on the *Public Libraries of the United States*, is one of the most interesting and instructive books we have ever had the privilege of perusing. We venture to say that few public documents ever issued by the Government of the United States possessed the value of this one. Its pages are full of valuable data for the politician and writer, the statesman and scientist, the patriot and the cosmopolitan. If the books of a nation afford a just criterion of its condition and progress, the volume before us cannot but be the source of hope and cheer to the most lugubrious prophet that the present industrial crisis has brought to the surface. Indeed, no intelligent man or woman can examine this work without having awakened in him or her an added interest and pride in the American nation, and a fuller and juster conception of the future career of the United States. There is certainly a spirit most wise and benignant at work here, beneath and above all this Vesuvius of moral and political irruption, which is destined to produce a civilization the grandeur of whose light shall eclipse that of all previous civilizations.

The editors with great good sense remark :

> "The one hundredth year of our existence as a nation was deemed a suitable occasion on which to present a sketch of American public libraries at the time of the Revolution. It has been prepared with great care and most industrious research, and forms a chapter that will excite the deep interest of every lover of his country who reads it and contrasts the literary resources of our country one hundred years ago with those of the present time." (p. 14.)

The growth of libraries in the United States during the century just closed, as disclosed in this volume, does, indeed, form one of the most impressive exhibits in it. At the beginning of our national existence the few public libraries in the country were

for the most part such as were connected with public institutions and colleges; and they formed but the nucleus of their present proportions. These could then be counted by the score, the precise number being sixty-five (65), of which the Loganian Library at Philadelphia was the most notable; now they are counted by the thousands, the actual number being three thousand six hundred and forty-nine (3,649). The reader needs only to be reminded of Franklin's embarrassment to get books to read, even in Boston, the centre of civilization on this continent in the eighteenth century, to obtain a just view of the bibliographical situation at that time: "A few theological books in his father's library; the use of a book now and then from the book stores, the chance of borrowing from a pretty selection of books; and the occasional purchase of a book which was mastered and turned inside out by use, as in the case of the old volume of the *Spectator*, which served him, as he tells us, for a copy-book in his attempts at producing literature—these were his literary resources," (p. 3). Now-a-days, there is no youth in America who has so poor an opportunity for literary distinction as had Franklin.

The following brief paragraph from an article on the *Public Libraries of One Hundred Years Ago*, by Mr. Scudder, Chapter I, is interesting in this connection:

> "A hundred years ago the country was not only sparsely settled, but communication between the different portions was irregular and infrequent. There was no highly organized postal system to act as an express from the publisher to his remotest customer. The large towns themselves were very imperfectly supplied with book stores and printing offices; and education was much more confined than at present to certain classes of society. The idea of a free public library could hardly find general acceptance until the idea of a free public education had become familiar to men's minds; and the libraries existing at the time of the Revolution were necessarily representative of the existing state of public opinion on the subject of culture. They were, with scarcely an exception, either connected directly with institutions of learning, or the outgrowth of associations of gentlemen having tastes and interests in common."

Far different are those conditions to-day. The means of intercommunication have multiplied marvellously; so, also, have the facilities for printing, publishing and distributing works and publications. So great, indeed, is the present supply of periodical literature that scavengers grow rich in gathering up the oversupply and selling it for waste-paper! But let us return to our volume.

The public libraries of the United States in 1876, as given in this report, are by no means confined to New England, or even to the original thirteen States of the Union. The public interest is, or ought to be, so great in this subject, that we feel justified in collating and tabulating a list of such libraries as spend for books and periodicals an amount in excess of $4,000 per annum, with their names, location, &c.

Table giving a list of the public libraries in the United States whose yearly expenditures for books and periodicals exceed $4,000 per annum, with their names, places, number of volumes, etc.

No. in Special Report on Libraries.	NAME.	PLACE.	When Founded.	Free or Subscription.	No. of Volumes.	Average Yearly Additions.	Yearly Circulation.	Total Yearly Income from all sources.	Yearly Expenditure.	
									Books, Periodicals and Bindings.	Salaries and Incidentals.
435	Public Library, ...	Chicago, Ill.	1872	Free	48,100	11,331	403,356	$63,616	$32,317	$31,057
2656	Public Library, ...	Cincinnati, Ohio,	1867	Free	71,405	11,398	443,100	41,443	25,501	18,394
1157	Public Library, ...	Boston, Mass.	1852	Free	299,869	18,000	758,493	141,300	21,500	119,800
3083	Mercantile Library, ...	Philadelphia, Pa.	1821	Sub.	125,668	17,004	237,341	46,083	21,387	24,634
316	Library of Congress, ...	Washington, D. C.	1802		300,000	15,400	. . . . .	15,000	15,000	29,340
2347	Mercantile Library Ass'n, .	New York City,	1820	Sub.	160,613	8,183	203,145	40,048	14,000	. . . . .
1105	Boston Athenæum, ...	Boston, Mass.	1807	Sub.	105,000	3,729	33,000	43,413	10,669	21,994
1187	Harvard College, ...	Cambridge, Mass.	1638	Free	154,000	7,000	. . . . .	8,584	9,158	15,640
1016	Peabody Institute Library, .	Baltimore, Md.	1857	Free	57,458	3,854	32,944	15,420	8,880	5,844
2213	Cooper Union, ...	New York City,	1858	Free	17,500	1,000	*606,000	8,000	8,000	2,154
1505	Free Public Library, ...	Worcester, Mass.	1859	Free	34,609	4,043	123,125	17,741	7,794	8,645
2674	Public Library, ...	Cleveland, Ohio,	1868	Free	24,000	3,500	173,281	8,500	7,500	6,500
87	Mercantile Library, ...	San Francisco, Cal.	1853	Sub.	41,563	3,000	85,940	29,000	6,500	9,000
3078	Library Co. of Philadelphia,	Philadelphia, Pa.	1731	Sub.	†104,000	1,500	. . . . .	‡14,500	6,000	6,500
71	California State Library, . .	Sacramento, Cal.	1850		37,000	1,500	. . . . .	. . . . .	6,000	. . . . .
3052	Franklin Institute, ...	Philadelphia, Pa.	1824		16,000	1,000	. . . . .	0	6,000	. . . . .
247	Silas Bronson Library, . . .	Waterbury, Conn.	1870	Free	20,000	1,700	68,000	14,000	5,500	5,200
2040	Mercantile Library, ...	Brooklyn, N. Y.	1857	Sub.	50,257	2,300	119,308	28,943	5,107	24,707
2214	Cornell University, ...	Ithaca, N. Y.	1868	Free	39,000	3,000	. . . . .	. . . . .	5,000	. . . . .
2220	Bar Association, ...	New York City,	1870	Sub.	9,077	1,500	. . . . .	. . . . .	5,000	. . . . .
431	Law Institute, ...	Chicago, Ill.	1857	Sub.	7,000	600	10,000	7,500	5,000	2,000
1001	City Library, ...	Baltimore, Md.	1873	Free	5,000	1,800	0	. . . . .	5,000	2,000
2289	Astor Library, ...	New York City,	1849	Free	152,446	2,750	‖135,068	15,118	4,738	12,451
1236	Public Library, ...	Fall River, Mass.	1860	Free	12,754	1,500	62,083	6,236	4,732	1,578
86	Mechanics' Institute, ...	San Francisco, Cal.	1855	Sub.	94,108	1,800	80,000	13,879	4,707	9,546
1736	Public School Library, . . .	St. Louis, Mo.	1865	Sub.	33,097	2,951	106,495	12,896	4,702	7,767
177	Washington Lib. of Reference	Hartford, Conn.	1858	Free	26,788	1,436	¶	8,000	4,250	3,500
2072	Young Men's Association,	Buffalo, N. Y.	1835	Sub.	27,597	894	84,412	13,131	4,947	6,167

* Books read in 1875. † Including Loganian Library. ‡ Exclusive of rents amounting to $27,000.
‖ Books read in 1875. ¶ A permanent fund of $130,000 is given, should it not be books circulated!

There is plenty of food for reflection in the above exhibit and we present it without comment, except so far as to caution the uninitiated against the danger of being misled by it. The public library of Chicago, for example, shows to better advantage than it is entitled to, as its outlay for books, etc., as given in this report was exceptional. So, likewise, the item for salaries and incidentals is so disproportionately large in some instances as to

reflect on the management were it not for the fact that the excess is due to the payment of debts and the discharge of interest obligations.

The following summary of the number of public libraries in the United States that spend for books and periodicals $100 and upwards per annum, is also interesting:

1	Library	expending	for	books, periodicals and binding....		$32,317	
3	Libraries	do.	do.	do.	an average of over.....	21,500	each.
1	Library	expending	for	books, periodicals and binding....		15,000	
1	do.	do.	do.	do.	....	14,000	
1	do.	do.	do.	do.	....	10,669	
1	do.	do.	do.	do.	....	9,158	
2	Libraries	do.	do.	do.	an average of nearly.....	8,000	do.
2	Libraries	expending	for	books, periodicals and binding an average of.....		7,500	do.
1	Library	expending	for	books, periodicals and binding....		6,500	
3	Libraries	do.	do.	do.	an average of.....	6,000	do.
2	Libraries	expending	for	books, periodicals and binding, an average of nearly.....		5,500	do.
4	Libraries	spending	for	books, periodicals and binding....		5,000	do.
6	do.	do.	do.	do.	an avearage of over.....	4,500	do.
8	Libraries	expending	for	the same	between $3,000 and	4,000	
25	do.	do.	do.	do.	2,000 and	3,000	
57	do.	do.	do.	do.	1,000 and	2,000	
106	do.	do.	do.	do.	500 and	1,000	
185	do.	do.	do.	do.	250 and	500	
243	do.	do.	do.	do.	100 and	250	

Beside these there are a number which make yearly additions more or less large, but which specify no amount as being spent for books, periodicals, etc.

The editors have by no means over-estimated the influence of the library on the course of civilization, or that of the librarian as as an educator. In respect of the influence of the latter, we extract a paragraph for the purpose of indorsing it:

"The influence of the librarian as an educator, is rarely estimated by outside observers, and probably seldom fully realized even by himself. Performing his duties independently of direct control as to their details, usually selecting the books that are to be purchased by the library and read by its patrons, often advising individual readers as to a proper course of reading, and placing in their hands the books they are to read, and pursuing his own methods of administration generally without reference to those in use elsewhere, the librarian has silently, almost unconsciously, gained ascendancy over the habits of thought and literary tastes of a multitude of readers, who find in the public library their only means of intellectual improvement. That educators should be able to know the direction and gauge the extent and results of this potential influence, and that librarians should not only understand their primary duties as purveyors of literary supplies to the people, but also realize their high privileges and responsibilities as teachers, are matters of great import to the interests of public education,"

The editors have done their work on the volume in a credit-

able manner. The work is nicely printed on clear, white paper, in legible type, and altogether does credit to the Commissioner of Education, through whose agency the volume is issued. We cannot but join him in expressions of regret that the Government could not afford a sufficient appropriation to have bound the work in appropriate covers. The politicians are, unhappily, too much absorbed in party politics, in determining who shall run the government, to trouble themselves with the minor questions of public education!

SCIENCE.

A Manual of Bandaging. By C. Henry Leonard, A. M. M. D. 8° pp. 132. Detroit: 1876.

The design of the little *Manual* on bandaging of Dr. Leonard is, as the author himself states, "to meet the wants of many students of medicine and [medical] practitioners who have had no opportunities for hospital drill in bandaging." And most admirably has the author fulfilled his idea. Avoiding the more elaborate and "fancy" bandaging, which the general practitioner of medicine is not expected to master, the author has wisely confined himself to explanations and illustrations of the minor and more practical details of the art. The work is written with great simplicity and free from unnecessary verbiage; the illustrations and descriptions are also admirably clear and concise throughout. We bespeak for it a hearty welcome from those for whom it is designed.

BELLES-LETTRES.

Viking Tales of the North: Containing the *Sagas of Thorstein, Viking's Son*, and *Fridthjof the Bole*. Translated by Prof. R. B. Anderson; also, *Fridthjof's Saga*, translated by George Stevens of Copenhagen. 12° pp. 370. Chicago: Messrs Griggs & Co. 1877.

We are indebted to Prof. Anderson for a second fascinating work on the Norsemen. This time, he has given us a view of the

beauties of Iceland's unfrequented fields of literature. Making us first acquainted, through his *Norse Mythology*, with the religion, ideas, and aspiration of the Norsemen, he now brings before us two of their characteristic Sagas, dear to every Icelandic heart, and a note-worthy translation of Bishop Tegnér's magnificent poem, *Fridthjof's Saga*.

The author introduces his volume with a definition of the word *Saga*:

"The Icelandic word *saga*, (saying), implies anything presented in narrative prose, and is a term used in reference to strictly historical records of persons and events of the past; but it also includes a large amount of half fabulous and purely fictitious tales, which are told in the same narrative form as the genuine historical sagas." (Preface.)

The composition of these sagas was begun near the close of the eleventh century. Priest Are Thorgilsson, the Learned, was the father of Northern history, and Icelandic literature (1067–1148). The works of this priest embrace a general history of the Northern peoples, and a special history of Iceland to the time of the author. After the heroes of Icelandic history had become well nigh exhausted by the saga-writers, who embellished their tales, semi-mythological, semi-historical, as they were, with the fancies of the people, the composition of fictitious sagas, creations entirely of the author's imaginations, took their place.

In this volume the Saga of Thorstein, Viking's Son, (which may be considered as an introduction to the Saga of Fridthjof the Bold,) may be found a genuine semi-mythological story, based on some popular traditions; while Fridthjof's Saga belongs to the class of fictitious Viking romances. The first relates the exploits of Fridthjof's ancestors; the latter, of Fridthjof, himself. The author of the Fridthjof Saga is unknown; the time at which it was put in writing cannot be fixed with precision, but it is ascribed to the twelfth or thirteenth century.

The volume contains, besides the two prose Sagas, the poem of Fridthjof's Saga, which is founded on the two prose Sagas, and a comprehensive sketch of the life and career of Tegnér, by F. M. Franzén, bishop of Hernösund, Sweden, written during the life of that distinguished poet, and brought down to his death by the American editors. In this biography the author gives the opinion of the bard himself, as to the cause of his own popularity:

"The Swede, like the Frenchman, prefers in poetry, the light, the clear, and the transparent. The profound, indeed, he demands and values also, but it must be a depth that is pellucid. He wishes that he may see the gold sands at the bottom of the wave. Whatever is dark or muddy, so that it cannot give him any distinct image, he cannot suffer. * * * * As regards the spirit itself, and the views of the world in the poet's own breast, we love best the life, enjoying the fresh, the bold, yes, even the over-daring. This is also true of the Swedish national character. However weakened, frivolous, or degenerate the people may be, a Viking-vein still lies at the bottom of the national temperament, and willingly do we recognize it in the bard. * * * * The proper, natural image of the Northern disposition

is a cold and clear, but fresh Winter day, which steels and braces all the energies of man to contend against and to conquer a hard climate and an unwilling soil. Wherever this clear breeze is found, wherever this fresh spirit blows, the nation recognizes its own inward life, and for its sake pardons other poetic faults. I know no better explanation."

Neither do we; and this spirit is evident in the whole poem.

Bishop Franzén closes his sketch with the following apt simile:

"But notwithstanding all that is Northern in its spirit and in the subject of his production, his poetry has all the richness and luxurious beauty of the South. Indeed, as respects his fresh, bright coloring, and the ever springing wealth of his thoughts and images, he may be compared to the verdant crown of an orange tree, whose strong and pure beaming green is adorned with full ripe fruit side by side with the newly opened blossoms."

In the introductory letter of Tegnér to Prof. Stephens, he writes that it was not his intention, as many have seemed to believe, simply to versify the Saga of Fridthjof:

"The most transient comparison," he continues, "ought to have shown, not only that the whole *dénouement* is different in the poem and in the saga, but also, that several parts have little, if any, or at least a very distant ground, in the legend. Indeed, it is not in this that we ought to seek the sources of the incidents I have chosen. My object was to represent a poetical image of the old Northern hero-age. It was not Fridthjof as an individual whom I would paint, it was the epoch of which he was chosen as a representative. It is true I have preserved in this respect the hull and outline of the tradition, but, at the same time, I thought myself entitled to add or take away just as was most convenient for my plan."

The scene of the poem is laid in Framness and its neighborhood, the Orkneys; it is represented as being in the fourteenth century. The principal characters are, Bele, Fylke, king (independent chief) of the Sogn District, in Norway; Helge and Walfdan his sons and co-heirs to his throne and lands; Ingeborg, his only daughter, foster-sister and beloved of Fridthjof; Thorstein, a rich and powerful yoeman (bonde), the chief stay and brother-in-arms of King Bele; Fridthjof, his son, lover of Ingeborg and hero of the poem; Hilding, a venerable peasant, and the foster-father of Fridthjof and Ingeborg; Ring, Fylke, king of Ringric, in Norway.

The poem opens with a narration of Fridthjof and Ingeborg growing up together under the care of their foster-father, Hilding:

"The one shot forth like some broad oak.
Its trunk, a battle lance unbroke;
But helmet like the top ascends,
As heav'n's soft breeze its arch'd round bends.

"Like some sweet rose—bleak winter flower,—
That other fresh young plant y-shone;
From out this rose Spring scarce yet gleaneth,
Within this bud it lies and dreameth.

"Thus sportful, glad, and green, they sprung,
And Fridthjof was that oak, the young;
The rose so brightly blooming there,
The hight was Ingeborg the Fair."

They decipher the runes; float together over the dancing waves under the bright warm rays of the summer's sun; climb the hills and roam through the valleys:

"No bird's nests yet so lofty were
That thither he not climbed for her;
E'en the eagle, as he cloudward sprung,
Was plundered both of eggs and young.

"No streamlet's waters rushed so swift,
O'er which he would not Ingeborg lift;
So pleasant feels, when foam-rush 'larms,
The gentle cling of small white arms.

"The first pale flower that Spring had shed,
The strawberry sweet that first grew red,
The corn-ear first in ripe gold clad,
To her he offer'd, true and glad."

But their childhood's days fled swiftly by, alas! far too swiftly for them. Fridthjof becomes skilled in all manly sports, and so strong and fearless, as to attack a savage animal, and, conquering it, lay the spoil at Ingeborg's feet:

"For man's brave deeds still woman wile;
Strength well is worth young beauty's smile;
Each other suit they fitly blending
Like helm o'er polished bows soft blending."

When Fridthjof reads in the cold nights of Winter, with the glowing hearth for his torch, of Valhal's brightness, and of the beauty of the fair goddesses, instantly his thoughts fly to Ingeborg:

"He think: 'Yes! yellow's Freyja's hair,
A corn-land sea, breeze waved so fair;—
Sure Ing'borg's, that like gold net trembles
Round rose and lilly, her resembles.

"And blue are Freyja's eyes to see,
Blue as heavens cloudless canopy;—
But I know eyes to whose bright beams
The light blue Spring day darksome seems.

"The bards praise Gerd's fair cheeks too high,
Fresh snows which playful north-lights dye;—
I, cheeks have seen whose day-lights clear
Two dawning blushing in one sphere."

While Ingeborg,

"All glad her love
Sat murmuring her love songs, and wove
Th' adventures her chief had seen,
And billows blue and groves of green."

But in the course of time, the love of the youth and maiden become so obvious that Hilding observes it. He cautions Fridthjof against it,—he, the son of a yeoman, to think of a king's daughter, whose titled ancestry reaches back direct to Odin! But

Fridthjof smiles and heeds him not, brings up his own valiant deeds, adding, in his manly pride:

"The free-born man yields not; for still
His arms wins worlds where'er it will,
Fortune can mend as well as mar,
Hope's ornaments right kingly are.

"What is high birth but force? Yes! Thor,
Its sire, in Thaudvang's fort gives law.
Not birth, but worth, he weighs above;—
The sword pleads strongly for its love!

"Yes! I will fight for my bride,
Though e'en the Thund'ring god defied:
Rest thee, lilly, glad at heart,
Woe him whose rash hand would us part."

Well nigh on a hundred years, King Bele feels his days will soon be finished, and with his faithful friend, Thorstein, at his side, who also feels the near approach of death, he sends for his two sons, Helge and Halfdan, and also for Fridthjof, to counsel them in regard to their possessions after he is gone. First Helge advances up the long hall, pale, wan and gloomy; then Halfdan, a fair, golden-haired youth, with features more like a woman than a man:

"But close behind them Fridthjof goes,
Wrapp'd in his mantle blue:
His hight a whole head taller rose
Than that of both the two,
He stands between the brothers there
As though the ripe day stood—
Atween young morning, rosy fair,
And night within the wood."

What beautiful imagery is contained in those last four masterly lines! Fridthjof, standing in his bright young manhood between the fair golden-haired, feminine youth, Halfdan, and the austere, priest-awed Helge!

King Bele and Thorstein respectively give their sons sage counsel, for

"On the old man's lips—ah, sweet renown!
Sits wise words, thoughts profound."

They tell the youths of their long friendship, how they always fought back to back against their foes. And now, both with years bowed down, are about to wend their way to Valhal together. They bid them always to stand together, united in brotherly love, for united their match in all the North cannot be found; but single, they are as nothing. One is touched at the old king's affection for his "tender blooming flower," Ingeborg; his last injunction is concerning her; he commends her to Helge's special care; bids him guard her tenderly, to shield from every ill-wind his rose fresh blown, and prove to her a second father.

When King Bele and Thorstein have been laid beneath their

two round barrows, Helge and Halfdan come into their father's possessions, sharing them as was the people's decree; Fridthjof inherits alone his father's vast estates, his horses, cattle, and the immense treasures collected in times past by his father and grandfather in their viking expeditions.

After King Bele's death, Fridthjof and Ingeborg are continually together; and the lover resolves to ask her hand of King Helge. Fridthjof seeks Helge and pleads his love, saying that doubtless King Bele had long foreseen this union, and had sanctioned it freely; acknowledges that he can claim no king as his sire, not even a jarl; but still in the songs of the skalds and in the tales that the rune-stones on his high-vaulted cairn tell, will the memory and exploits of his father live forever. He speaks of his own prowess, and then says that King Bele, on whose barrow they stand, hears, in the dark deep beneath every word, and joins with him in pleading for fair Ingeborg's hand.

But Helge spurns him, indignantly denying the daughter of Valhal to the son of a peasant, and arrogantly refusing even his services to protect his kingdom; but he superciliously offers him a place among his household. This maddens Fridthjof, who disdains the proffered position to serve in Helge's household. He tells him that this will cost him dear, and angrily cleaving with one stroke of his ponderous sword Helge's gold war shield as it hung on the green, he quits the cairn, and sails moodily homeward.

The scene is now changed to the domain of King Ring, which,

> "Like the god's own groves, heard his land no alarm,
> Race-shadow'd reposes;
> Profan'd by no arms its green wood so calm,
> And hedged from harm,
> Fresh flourished the grass, their sweets shed the roses."

King Ring sits in his long hall, with all its barbaric splendor in his golden seat, before a well-filled board; around it are his champion and his skalds, who sing the praises of their much-loved king. But amid all this magnificence, and despite the idolatrous love of his prosperous people, his brow is shadowed, and he sighs deeply; then he mournfully speaks of his good queen, over whose dust "verdant grasses grow," and "o'er her grave-mound flower sweets are hov'ring." Nowhere can he find one so good and fair; but in answer to his country's prayers, and the cries of his two little babes, he has resolved to take another queen, and his choice falls upon Ingeborg,

> "That lily tall
> And slender, whose cheek still with morn's blush pleases."

He commands his youths to take gold for her brothers the kings, and gems for the bride, and sends minstrels to play in her train when she is brought to him. Helge consults the priests and they the lungs of a slaughtered hawk, but the vala show that it

must not be, and Helge sends back a refusal. Halfdan taunts the followers of King Ring with their king's age, he with his grey beard seeking a girl bride! King Ring is incensed at the message, and proclaims war. As he is a powerful foe, Helge conveys Ingeborg for protection to the sacred grove of Balder; then he sends a messenger to Fridthjof, demanding the aid of himself and his men to expel Ring; but Fridthjof refuses; the remembrance of Helge's haughty treatment is still too strong; but on seeing Ingeborg once more, he decides to make one more demand for her, which he does in a style and language well worth quoting, but the want of space forbids so long a citation.

Fridthjof, heart-sore, spends the next few years as a viking, ever victorious; but he grows weary of everything, and he resolves again to seek the fair Ingeborg. He visits King Ring in disguise, and spends the winter with him; while there, he saves the lives of both the king and queen. They were on their way to a banquet. On crossing a frozen lake it gave way, the horse, sledge and occupants falls into the water, when Fridthjof, with superhuman strength, pulls them out upon the solid ice. King Ring finally goes on a hunting excursion, and being overcome with sleep, lies down, having no one to guard him but Fridthjof. Fridthjof is sorely tempted to kill him, but he resists the impulse and throws his sword far from him. This arouses the king, who informs Fridthjof that he feigned sleep to try him, as he penetrated his disguise from the first, adding:

"Listen! Old was I and feeble, soon shall I in my cairn recline;
Then my kingdom take, young warrior; take my queen, too, she is thine;
Be still my son, and share my halls free welcome as before!
Swordless champions shall protect me, so our ancient feud is o'er!"

But Fridthjof refuses to remain; he must build an altar to Balder in propitiation for his sin; he departs. King Ring dies; Fridthjof is chosen king; he accepts the position only till the two sons of Ring are grown. Balder accepts the offering and Ingeborg finally becomes his bride.

The poem shows throughout its national character, at times strong even to ruggedness; then again touchingly pathetic, as in the parting between Ingeborg and Fridthjof, Canto VIII, where Fridthjof tries to persuade her to accompany him to the sunny shores of Greece, and she will not consent to fly clandestinely from the land, as it would not befit the daughter of Bele; then she continues:

"My noble Fridthjof, born his land's defender,
Shall never flee inglorious from its shores;
His dear-bought fame shall never cast behind him
For aught so worthless as a young girl's love!
A life, whose golden-threaded days the sun
Spins year from year the same, is beautiful;
But this eternal oneness woman's soul
Alone can please; to man, and most to thee,
Life's changeless calm is changeless weariness."

When Fridthjof is about to leave her in anger, Ingeborg's inexpressible tenderness and strong enwrapped emotions of love and sympathy, but still subordinated to her equally strong sense of honor, is well portrayed.

Some of the passages of the poem are grand. The description of the storm at sea is exceedingly beautiful. Through all of it gleams the fanciful, like the rays of sunlight on a fitful sea. We cite the following as an example:

" The sun is quenched, and evening breeze is trolling
To the earth's tired race its cloud-sprung lullaby;
And ev'ning's blush drives up her chariot rolling,
With rose-red wheels along the dark'ning sky;
Like some Valhal's vision, men consoling,
She flies blue-tinten hills and valleys by,
Then sudden, o'er the western water's pendant,
An image come with gold and flames resplendent."

In the last canto the priest's address to Fridthjof is sublime in its simplicity. King Bele's advice to Helge is worthy of being followed at the present time:

" Firm, but not harsh, my son, let might
The touch of mercy feel;
For sword that bends the most will bite
Most sharply on the steel.
Know, Helge, it becomes a king
Gentle to be, though bold,
As flow'rs adorn the shield; soft spring
Brings more than winter cold.

" A friendless chief, however feared,
However bright his day,
Dies like a trunk, in deserts rear'd,
Its bark all peel'd away;
But who'er claims fast-faithful friends,
Grows like the woodland tree,
Round whose deep root the streamlet wends,
Whose branches shelter'd be.

" Boast not the fame, thy dead sires gain'd—
Each hath his own no more;
Hast thou to bend the bow vain strain'd?
The bow's not thine—give o'er."

But we think our feminine readers will be prone to contest passages like these:

" Oh woman, woman," cried Fridthjof, madly,
" When thou with Loke first shelter'd gladly,
A lie it was! and he sent it then
In woman's shape to the world of men.

" Fridthjof, I cannot excuse, man, thy madness.
What! for a woman lament so sore!
Women, good lack! the whole earth swarm o'er;
Thousands, one gone, will soon banish thy sadness."

But such passages are rare in the volume, and are more than counterbalanced by the high, chivalrous feeling toward the fair

sex which pervades the poem, as a whole. The interest of the reader never fails in the perusal of the volume. It is a book we would recommend to every one, not only for the insight it gives of nature and the instincts and habits of the old Norsemen, but for its own intrinsic value as a picture of healthy living and thinking.

Silence, a poem. By S. Miller Hageman. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1877.

Lovers of smooth versification and soft euphonious cadencies, not disposed to limit the license of a poet in the use of similes and hyperbole, or to hold him to strict account for the mixture of sense and nonsense, so long as the emulsion is sweet, will find pleasure in perusing Mr. Hageman's little poem on *Silence*.

One takes little pleasure in criticising a literary effort like this. In the first place, the poem is a sweet, loving tribute to a sainted mother. Touch it gently! Not without a feeling akin to sacrilege can one read it in a captious or critical spirit. Far different might one feel if the object of this tender sentiment were a friend, a father, or even the average wife, or husband. But a mother! Let no rude pen deal harshly with the gentle murmurs of a son embued with filial love toward such a one!

In the second place, it professes to be a poem. And who but a poet is competent to deal with it? As for us, we are so wedded to commonplace views of life and things—so unpoetic, that is to say, prosy, in all our ideas and emotions, that we cannot imagine the spectacle of a frozen cataract *leaping*, silently, or otherwise, (p. 8); nor the appositeness of a *waving* silence, (p. 30); nor do we comprehend what the author means when he speaks of a crash of "thunder in the *blue* stillness *drowned*, (p. 29). And equally inappropriate is it to speak of a thought having *fragrant* foot-prints, or any foot-prints whatever, (p. 31). Further on we read of a soul walking "as a saint in heaven *unshod*." Clearly, the inference is legitimate from this language that, in the author's view, saints do not always go barefoot in heaven. But enough of this. We are no poet, nevertheless, we admire the following sweet stanza:

> "Sound is but the rippling shadow of the silence deep and grand,
> Silent is the force that hideth in the sound of wheel and hand;
> Silent is the power that rests in the tempest's wanton might;
> Just behind the floating storm-cloud lies the calm, eternal light." (xxxvi.)

So, likewise, is this fine, and real enough to have been written in prose:

"Who am I that I should truckle, puppet to a low intent?
On God's errand I enlisted, by God's spirit I was sent:
Unseen hands of ordination upon all my life were laid,
What to this is man's commission? In God's image men are made." (lxix.)

The following lines, tòo, are too true to be lost 'mid the leaves of a single book:

"Faith is but an idle canvas, flapping on an idle mast,
If it be not found within thee as the work of life at last;
Dotaged faith is but a fancy, he who waits that dream is lost,
And his creed is but a millstone, and his God is but a ghost." (lxx.)

The Poetical and Prose Writings of Charles Sprague. 12° pp. 207. Boston: Messrs. Williams & Co. 1876.

THE Messrs. Williams & Company have given us a new edition of the writings of one of Boston's noblest sons. Apart from the character of the man, however, there is little in Mr. Sprague's writings of permanent interest; and his poems and adresses are admired most by those who knew him best.

The neatly printed and bound volume before us consists of odes, orations and adresses, written and delivered in the early part of the present century, with a biographical sketch and frontispiece of the author. The man was certainly not without poetic genius. The poem on *Curiosity* is written in a fresh, vigorous style, and in a brave, manly spirit, though lacking, perhaps, in poetic enthusiasm. But it is full of good passages. Take the following lines for an example:

"It came from Heaven, it reigned in Eden's shades—
It roves on earth, and every walk invades:
Childhood and age alike its influence own,
It haunts the beggar's nook, the monarch's throne;
Hangs over the cradle, leans above the bier,
Gazed on old Babel's tower—and lingers here."

The same spirit is only too apparent now, as in this:

"See to the church the pious myriads pour,
Squeeze through the aisles, and jostle round the door.
Does Langdon preach?—(I veil his quiet name,
Who serves his God, and cannot stoop to fame;)
No, 'tis some reverend mime, the latest rage,
Who thumps the desk, and should have trod the stage;
Cant's veriest ranter crams a house if new,
When Paul himself, oft heard, would hardly fill a pew."

There are clergymen, at the present day, we regret to say, who, if gifted with sufficient penetration, could not fail to recognize their own portraits in the last few lines.

Mr. Sprague's forte evidently lay in the composition of odes. His "Shakspeare Ode" is one of his best. We do not think, however, that the author ranks with the first poets of the day, by any means. The odes were, doubtless, well fitted for the occasion they helped to celebrate. A deep religious vein pervades all of Mr. Sprague's writings, and gives them an added interest to many. Exclusive of his odes, the occasion of the death of some near friend, is the inspiration of his poems.

Six Weeks in Norway. By E. L. ANDERSON. 12° pp. 80. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1877.

THE title explains the purport of this little book. It is a record of a six weeks' sojourn amid the picturesque scenery of Norway. The author has, undoubtedly, given us a faithful account of the weather, the condition of the roads, his experience at the various "stations," the conveniences and the inconveniences met with—wanting only the state of his mind and body when he arrived at the station where he rested for the night, and other details chiefly interesting to himself and wife. He has been guilty, however, of a somewhat strange omission, that of forgetting to give his readers any description of the unrivalled scenery of Norway. We are occasionally favored with the height of a mountain and the length of a lake; but our impression of Norway remains, after reading the book, as before. If we had any knowledge of the country, we still retain it; if not, we are but little enlightened. The account of the pleasure trip savors considerably of a guide-book, with the addition of personal experiences.

We think if he had permitted himself to have been "led into any reference to the traditions of Norway," and had followed his predilection, and spoken of the "Varanger" of Stamboul, the Vikings of coastal Europe, or of the heroes of the Normans of France, the book would have been much more instructive than it now is.

The little volume is neatly bound, and, save a few typographical errors, is unexceptionally printed.

My Son's Wife. By the author of *Caste*, *Mr. Arle*, &c. 12° pp. 437. Philadelphia: Peterson & Brothers. 1877.

THE Messrs. Peterson have issued another novel of their attractive dollar series. The plot of *My Son's Wife* is not at all intricate, but the moral tone of the novel is pure and its style clear. The characters are well drawn, and well contrasted. The devotion of Ellinor "My Son's Wife," to her blind father, her utter prostration at his sudden death, the aversion she showed towards her lover for a short time after this sad event, and her condemnation of herself for having allowed her love to have been drawn away in any degree from her father, are all particularly well depicted. Mrs. Tressylion, one of that much vilified class of mothers-in-law, is a woman of marked character. Tredgar, her son, inherits much of his mother's disposition, and possesses a strong will and an independent spirit. Both are capable of deep affection, and a deep affection exists between them. But there is also an antagonism between them, an attractive and a repellant force, the latter generally predominating. Ellinor strives to act as a mediator between them, smoothing down their antagonisms. Her mother-in-law, however, looks upon her as a sort of interloper, who has robbed her of her son's affections—a frequent source of ill-feeling on the part of mothers-in-law generally.

First and True Love. By GEORGE SAND. 8° pp. 228. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers. 1877.

THIS volume by Madame Sand is one of the best of that lady's works. The style is rich and pure, abounding in the imaginative and melodious, and the work itself is quite free from those blemishes which, just or otherwise, have been imputed to some of her writings. Novels from the hand of a master of thought and diction like Madame Sand, even if they paint in living colors, are to be preferred to the weak, sentimental books sent forth to the young under the guise and patronage of morality. The Messrs. Peterson deserve the thanks of novel readers for providing them so cheap and good an edition of a celebrated work.

SCHOOL NOTES.

THE condition of the schools and colleges, as we gather it from reports sent to us and observations made by us, during the quarter, contrasts well on the average, with that of the previous school year. Many of the schools are suffering from the depression of industry; many hold their own; and many are doing better than usual. The latter are certainly to be congratulated; the former to be commiserated. We rate many schools in the latter category worthy of better support from their vicinage and the country generally than they are receiving, which is an evil under the sun to be removed.

It is to be regretted that any master or teacher capable of doing good work, should not have his hands full—for the harvest is great, while the real laborers are few. It should be remembered that the higher schools and academies of the country are intended to supplement the influence of home and the public schools. They occupy a sphere peculiarly their own, and must continue to do so so long as there are boys and girls to educate whose parents are not able from the lack of wisdom, strength of purpose, or opportunity to superintend their education themselves, as every parent ought to do.

We have heard much weak sentiment expressed concerning home-influence in the rearing of the young. We are no stranger to the feeling of sanctity associated with the influences which cluster round the ideal home. It is necessary, however, to discriminate between the real and fictitious in homes as in other things. And it must be confessed that there is a wide distinction between the actual and the ideal in the average home-life. The associations of a home where children are sent out to beg for a living, or in which drunkenness, foul speech, vice, foul air and uncleanliness freely commingle, are not particularly sacred. Neither are homes where a spirit of ill-will and contention prevails; nor are those where children cannot be governed without the rod especially elevating to their members. But it must be admitted that there are many homes like these within the sight of every church spire, or sound of school bell. Who can honestly respect the sanctity of homes of such a character?

Moreover, there is another class of homes, altogether too numerous, the influence of which is of a doubtful sanctity. It is made up of the homes of some of our affluent and highly respectable citizens, whose ideal of child-rearing consists in providing their children every possible means of amusement and selfish gratification. Their girls must have waiting-

maids, riding ponies, pony phaetons, and go skirted and bejewelled for the drawing-room; their boys must have tutors to teach them their lessons, and servants to look after their rooms; velocipedes to exercise on, swallow-tails to dance in, fast horses for amusement and a purse to develop and supply pampered appetites and fictitious wants; and both boys and girls carefully shielded from cold rooms and cold water, hard study and hard exercise, abstemious diet and abstemious pleasures, and all that category of hardier influences so essential to the growth of the sterner and nobler virtues. The influence of these homes is surely not such as one can speak of in terms of respect. And we insist that no home justifies the sentiment usually attached to it where these enervating and demoralizing influences are in the ascendant.

We make these observations in no cynical or captious spirit. If circumstances were different; if American parents occupied positions of genteel leisure and were themselves properly educated, instead of being half-educated and absorbed up to their eyes in business—that is to say—in a hand to hand struggle to live like the rest of mankind—they could then, perhaps, provide such homes and training for their children as are needful for the nurture of the manly and womanly virtues. But the gods have unhappily, or otherwise, initiated a different order of things in America; and until they see fit to change that order the hope of the rising generations centres largely in our higher schools and seminaries.

"The child is father to the man." There is great need of more of the Spartan spirit in the training of children, at home, or abroad. The dogma of free-will may be false in philosophy, but it is true in practice. The idea of accountability ought to be encouraged and wisely enforced. Under the existing régime our boys grow up effeminate and good for nothing except to exhaust patrimonies, and our girls good for little except to keep bread from moulding, because of the weak pride we take in *nursing* them beyond the period appointed by nature. Should this course be persisted in and there is any truth in Darwin's idea of Variation through Selection, the time is not far distant when our children will grow up without teeth and legs, if not without ideas and brains, and the government of the world pass into the hands of a more sensible and hardy, but less refined race.

If we can read and comprehend signs and symptoms clearly, the private institutions of learning which are springing up in salubrious localities all over the country, indicate the necessity of better means to fit boys and girls for the practical duties of life than those which their homes afford. And to one interested in the progress of the race this educational phenomenon is the source of no small encouragement. We are not blind to the fact that many of these institutions are shams, places of pride, cupidity and fashion, where all the virtues are nurtured except those that give force and independence of character. But schools of this sort, though numerous, are in the minority, and their days, we hope, are already numbered. It remains for parents who have the future repute and welfare of their children at heart, to see to it that their sons and daughters are placed in the hands of masters and principals who comprehend the full measure of their responsibilities,

and are able and willing to fulfill them. Encourage the worthy and the unworthy will die out.

*** *Extras:* This is the unknown quantity in school bills. We hear complaints on every hand of exorbitant bills for extras. The regular bill per year is paid by the quarter, or otherwise, and in addition to it there is a bill of extras ranging from ten dollars to one hundred or more dollars per quarter. Here are a few items from bills of extras actually rendered:

New school books,	$10 00
Lessons in drill,	10 00
" " drawing and painting,	10 00
" " music, with use of piano.	20 00
" " Italian, French or German,	10 00
" " dancing,	5 00
Stationery,	5 00
Dress for an exhibition or a play,	10 00
Expenses for excursions,	5 00
Broken window pane,	1 00
Damage to furniture,	2 00
Rides to church,	5 00
Pew rent,	5 00
Sundries,	5 00

To one with a large income, honestly, or otherwise acquired, such a bill would not seem exorbitant. To the most of fathers, however, it would be oppressive, and we can imagine them groaning under its frequent presentation. Can nothing be done to help them? Let us see:

Generally speaking, the fault in this matter lies with both parties—principal and parent. If parents send their sons and daughters away to school for entertainment, rather than hard, earnest study and discipline, they must expect to pay for it. Pleasure is proverbially dear. So, likewise, if they patronize schools whose principals think more of securing business profits than of rendering good service to their pupils and patrons, the latter have no right to complain of bills in excess.

Moreover, there is both sense and nonsense in these bills of *extras*. It is nonsense, if not worse, on the part of a principal to charge five dollars or more per quarter for waste paper, alias stationery, when the amount actually used does not exceed the value of five cents. The same is true of sundry items, as the nominal drill, excursions, costume for plays, &c., damage to furniture, pew rent, &c., when the assessment for these things is in excess of the actual cost. On the other hand, it is altogether just and proper for principals of schools to charge extra for courses of study, etc., not provided for or comprehended in the arrangement.

*** It is a note-worthy incidence that the Albany Law School, which we had occasion to criticise severely in the December number of the *Review*, has greatly improved its course of study and bids fair to rival in efficiency that of Columbia College Law School. Frequent and thorough examinations of the pupils are now made; and we hear loud and amusing complaints from the young aspirants for legal honors that they are compelled

to spend so much time among the law libraries in preparing for them, that they cannot indulge in the usual pastimes of student life! We do not pity them in the least. "Life is earnest, life is real," or ought to be to every student.

*** We note with pleasure the prosperity of Adam's Academy, Quincy, (Mass.) Wm. R. Dimmock, LL.D., Master, and Hon. Charles Francis Adams, LL.D., President of the Board of Managers. Examinations for admission will be held June 29th, and September 11th. The new academic year will begin September 12th.

This institution, now closing its fourth year, has an interesting history:

"President John Adams, in the year 1822, gave some valuable tracts of land, amounting in all to one hundred and sixty acres, as a foundation for a Greek and Latin school or academy. It was provided in the deeds that a stone school-house should be erected on the site of the house in which John Hancock was born, and which was afterwards inhabited by Josiah Quincy, Jr., the eminent patriot of the Revolution. In accordance with the terms of the deeds, none of the lands have ever been sold, but from the income derived from them a substantial and beautiful school-house has been erected, and in September, 1872, the Adams Academy was opened."—*Catalogue, p. 14.*

*** Williams College, at Williamstown, (Mass.), Paul Ansell Chadbourne, D. D., LL.D., president, will hold its eighty-third commencement exercises July 4th. Examination for admission to the college will be held September 3d and 4th. We notice that several new scholarships have been recently founded at "Old Williams;" and that among its distinguished Alumni is the name of our eminent townsman, William Cullen Bryant.

The president of Williams College writes: "Our numbers are as large as they ever ought to be (190). In fact 40 students in a class (160) would be the right number, we think, if we could have just such men as we want. We desire to give present attention to every student, and not to have an institution where students must be treated in the mass." We commend these views of Dr. Chadbourne to the attention of presidents and principals generally.

Williams College was founded by one Col. Williams, one hundred and twenty-five years ago, and has grown by slow process from little beginnings unto its present noble proportions. It is the oldest College in Massachusetts, Harvard excepted, and has graduated more than two thousand four hundred men. And well may she feel proud of her work; for among her Alumni are many names to whom she can point with just pride as illustrious in the annals of the Country.

*** St. John School, Sing-Sing, (N. Y.,) Rev. J. B. Gibson, D. D., Rector, has just closed a very prosperous year. We are glad to observe that the Rector appreciates the importance of training the heart, as well as the head of his pupils, for of a truth no course of education is complete "which does not provide for the faithful training of the mind, heart and soul in Christian truth and life."—*Circular, p. 7.*

*** The higher schools of Sing Sing, generally, have had a successful year. The classes at Rev. Dr. Holbrook's and at the Messrs. Benjamin and Allen's Military Academy have been full. We rejoice at this evidence of appreciation on the part of the public, of training for boys that combines the physical and moral with the intellectual.

*** An interesting feature of Rev. C. M. Selleck's school at Norwalk, (Ct.,) is a Summer term, the vacations being in early Spring and Autumn. We would like to see this feature generally adopted by boarding schools in the country. To say nothing of the evils of a long vacation, it is an advantage to the pupil to remain in school, if its location be salubrious, during the warm season. The location of Mr. Selleck's school is not only highly salubrious, but exceedingly picturesque.

*** The Misses Peake will re-open their seminary for young ladies at Hudson, (N. Y.,) the first Monday in September. These estimable instructors stand deservedly high in the public regard, not only in their own beautiful city on the Hudson, but throughout the empire state. Their school is emphatically a home school, and their purpose is to prepare young ladies for careers of usefulness, or to use Miss Elizabeth Peake's own words, "to fill an honorable place in refined society."

*** *E pur si muove.*—The Senate of the University of London recently decided by a large majority to grant medical degrees to women the same as to men. To this step the Alumni of the University to the number of more than two hundred and thirty medical practitioners, took exception, and made strenuous but vain efforts to induce the Senate to review its decision. Verily, the world does move! One may not admire a woman who can so far forego her modesty as to occupy a seat by the side of her brother in a class of medical students. Nor is one required to do so. But her rights as an individual seeking avenues for the exercise of her genius are above those of any other consideration, and it is to be hoped that they will prevail. If the sacrifice of a little modesty be necessary in order to secure more independence, let it be done, especially if it be a false modesty that is to be sacrificed.

*** We have gratifying reports of the condition of Jane Grey School, at Mt. Morris, N. Y., Rev. J. Lindley, A. M., Principal. The curriculum at *Jane Grey* is equal to that of the best preparatory schools. The Rev. principal and his wife are educators of large experience and ripe scholarship, and combine in their school the advantages of a cultivated home with rare tact in exciting an interest in the subjects taught. Mrs. Lindley is an enthusiastic admirer of the classics, in which department the young ladies under her care are not likely to be neglected.

We hope the proposition to remove *Jane Grey* to some more populous centre will be considered in all its bearings, before action is taken upon it. Mt. Morris has such a lovely environment in the midst of that "string of

pearls" which adorns the rich valley of the Genesee, that it would seem unwise to make the proposed change. Without intending to undervalue the importance of good instructors, we rate a salubrious locality foremost among the qualifications of a country boarding-school. And if parents were wise they would agree with us.

*** The Alexander Institute, at White Plains (N. Y.), Oliver R. Willis, Ph. D., Principal, will re-open Sept. 19th. The *Alexander* is a classical, commercial, and military Institute; and although its Master declares that it is a place for education and not for reformation, we do not see why these two features should be dissociated in an educational institution. A successful teacher is necessarily a reformer, and a proper school a reformatory; and we hope the day is not distant when no child will be deprived of the benefits of either, on account of badness. That a boy is bad is the best reason in the world why he should be kept under wise and helpful discipline. "Boys who are unaccustomed to obey at home," says Dr. Willis, "are not desirable members of a boarding-school"—(circular). That may be; but we know not in what way a Master of such a school could better employ his time and talents than on such boys. Moreover, we know of no teacher able to manage a fractious boy with less trouble than Dr. Willis. We have heard of no expulsions from Alexander Institute, as yet, and do not expect to very soon.

*** The subject of corporeal punishment in the public schools is again agitating the Board of Education in New York. Its advocates in the board claim that there are many children whom it is impossible to govern by any other mode of punishment, and insist that under the moral suasion rule which now obtains many are deprived the benefit of the schools, by expulsion for misconduct, who, by a judicious use of the rod could be duly disciplined and advantageously retained. It is here we think that the end justifies the means. While the rod is a barbarous means of punishment, it should be remembered that they are barbarians on whom it is proposed to use it. Let us avoid weak sentiment in this matter of punishment. The blister is often a valuable adjunct of the pellet, the cautery of the soporific; and the Master in the art of reforming the ills of mankind is he who uses the proper remedy at the proper time and in its proper place.

*** Gannett Institute, Boston, (Mass.), Rev. Geo. Gannett, A. M., Principal, makes a speciality of the study of the Fine Arts. It gives us pleasure to observe that it has recently made large and valuable additions to its collection of illustrated art works, and increased materially its facilities for the study or art. We congratulate both masters and pupils on this evidence of prosperity of Gannett Institute.

*** Packer Institute, Brooklyn, (L. I.), under the direction of Professor Crittenden, has achieved an enviable standing among colleges for the education of young women. The classics, higher mathematics, modern languages, botany, history, etc., receive deserved attention, while its classes in

the Fine Arts are well sustained. The Chair of Chemistry is occupied by Professor D. G. Eaton, who manages with clever ability to maintain a creditable interest in the department of exact science.

*** The subject of Industrial Art Education is engrossing the attention of our more advanced economic philosophers and statesmen and bids fair to become the basis of a new departure in the management of our schools. It is a branch of study that we should be glad to see cultivated in all our schools and seminaries. While the study of the fine arts is prosecuted in the higher schools with commendable zeal, industrial art is either totally neglected or receives but indifferent attention. Our Cooper Institutes, Polytechnic Colleges and the meagre facilities afforded by the public schools are insufficient to meet the growing demands of our country for skilled industry. The national prosperity requires of educational institutions the means for the education and training of the youth, regardless of sex, in some self-supporting handicraft, or higher art-calling; and if every school and seminary in the land made this special art-training a part of their ordinary curriculum they could not adequately fulfill the demands of the occasion. It is this want, far more than disorder of the finances, that has caused the present depressed condition of American industry.

*** Columbia College, D. P. Barnard, D.C. L., President, held its 128d annual commencement exercises on the 13th ult. Its graduating class was smaller than usual, numbering 26. But there was no falling off in the grade of proficiency. Columbia is the oldest college in the empire state, and well may New Yorkers be proud of her.

*** Wesleyan University, at Middletown, (Ct.), Cyrus David Foss, D.D., President of the Faculty, held its commencement exercises June 28th, ult. Its graduating class numbered 29 pupils, two of whom were women. The Wesleyan has a library of 27,000 volumes and a library fund of $27,000.

*** The annual commencement of St. Mary's Academy, Notre Dame, (Ind.), Mother Mary of St. Angela, Superior, was commemorated June 26th and 27th ult. The programme for the occasion was excellent and its rehearsal could not but have made the exercises more than ordinarily interesting.

LIFE-INSURANCE NOTES.

OUR strictures on the methods pursued by certain Life-Insurance Companies continue to produce their effect. We are in receipt of various letters from parties who have taken alarm and write to us for further information concerning companies in which they are insured. One of our latest correspondents writes as follows:

"*To the Editor of the National Quarterly Review:*

"Yesterday, by sheer accident, or rather good fortune, as I may perhaps have to designate it, I came in possession of the *National Quarterly Review*, ... and began to peruse this excellent periodical..... I met with an article the contents of which rather alarmed me. It refers to Life-insurance Companies.

".... I had always imagined that I could, at any time, die comparatively easy, knowing, as I thought I had a right to presume, that in such an event my poor widow, or my poor innocent children, would certainly not suffer from immediate want. Looking over your article again I cannot conceive of a greater rascality,—worse than outright murder—than is practised by such dangerous fraudulent concerns, which, in shameful mockery of all that is right, surround themselves with a certain *nimbus* as charitable institutions.....

"I feel so shocked and alarmed that I now, in good faith and sincere confidence in your integrity and knowledge, appeal to you to kindly and promptly inform me whether you could, under existing circumstances, advise me to further continue payment of my premiums or at once discontinue them."

We purposely refrain from mentioning the name of the company referred to by our correspondent. It is one which bears a very high reputation and whose annual returns show an enormous amount of gross assets. We have had occasion in some of our numbers to point out the dubious character of some of these assets, the item of "premium notes" alone amounting to millions and considerably exceeding the surplus in several of its reports —including that for 1876; and also to call attention to certain very unjust and oppressive defences of which it has availed itself to resist the payment of policies as they fell due. We have no desire to attack any company, nor do we bear any malice against this particular one. Our object in publishing the above extracts is simply to warn all these companies that there are periodicals which keep an eye on their movements, and that any improper manipulation of assets, or oppressive treatment of policy-holders will be promptly noticed and held up to the indignation it deserves.

*** The inventory of the Receiver of the defunct Metropolitan Fire con-

tains some curious items. For instance, there are thirty-two mortgage bonds of the Knickerbocker Gas-Light company for $1,000.00 each, on the premises and works. These bonds are estimated to have cost the company with interest $32,746.27. There are also twelve hundred shares of the capital stock of the same company—par value $100.00, charged as having cost $33,413.56. What may be obtained for these bonds and stocks the Receiver is unable to say. There is no such company at present in the Directory. We note the following items among its assets;

$38,239.88, notes of the *Grahamite*, Trinedad and Asphalt Pavement Company secured by 4,400 shares of its capital stock. Attachments have been issued on these notes;

A loan of $15,500.00 on 160 shares of Municipal Gas Light Stock whose par value is $100.00 per share and which is sold at 80 per cent—making the security only $12,800.00;

Eighteen second and third mortgage bonds of the Riche Mineral Resin and Oil Company, for $500.00 each—valueless;

A balance for $5,541.53 due from James S. Graham, on note, and $1,565.00 unpaid cheques of same party;

Sundry notes and bills many of which are worthless assignments from James S. Graham of a litigated claim to secure an advance of $7,596.20 made by the company. This name of Graham, so constantly recurring, is the surname of the president of the company.

We have repeatedly called attention in previous numbers to the condition of this company. The result has fully justified our warnings.

*** The audacity with which speculative insurance companies undertake to control the law has been seldom more strongly manifested than in a recent occurrence in Missouri. The last General Assembly had passed a bill known as the Non-forfeiting Act, for the protection of policy-holders. The bill passed the House late in the session, went to the Senate and was referred to the Committee on Insurance. When called for from the committee, it had mysteriously disappeared. A certified copy was procured from the House, and the bill passed. The bill was then enrolled, signed by the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate, returned to the House and then delivered to the Governor—at least so the minutes of the House state, but the Governor, it appears, never received the bill. It vanished on its way to him from the House, and being supposed to be in his Excellency's hands, was not known to be missing until the other bills were returned, when its loss was discovered. Here is an instance of a bill restricting the tyranny of insurance companies, regularly made away with by some party in their interest, and, we may presume, under the influence of their money. Can this be the meaning of the expression "to prevent obnoxious legislation," stated to be one of the objects of a certain conspicuous corporation?

*** The failure of the Atlantic Mutual Life presents in some respects a marked contrast to most of the bankrupt insurance companies. There are

evidences of imprudence, but none of dishonesty. The principal mistake was the deposit of $162,548.11 in a private banking concern which was not in a position to honor a cheque for the amount. The returns appear to have been accurate, the deductions made by the superintendent being principally due to the depreciation of real estate throughout the country. The company appears to have been economically managed and the investments (with this one exception) judicious. Its experience however should be a warning to companies not to allow their officials to invest the funds of policy-holders in institutions carried on for the latter's private benefit. Had not the company been induced to bank with the Hope Banking Company, whose president, Mr. Hendricks, was its own vice-president, and in fact owner of that concern, but deposited its money in an incorporated bank, its embarrassment might have been averted.

*** The charges against the United States Life thicken. The supplemental complaint sought to be filed by Tilton alleges an arbitrary change in the system of dividends, for the benefit of stock-holders, to increase their profits, and to avoid their being called upon to made good a large deficiency; the suppression of a large amount of dividends on earlier policies; the receipt by the directors, or some of them, of large amounts of money and script for fictitious profits; and the employment of agents of the bankrupt Continental and New Jersey companies to induce their policy-holders to surrender their insurances and take policies in the United States upon the basis of the same age and rate of premium. The officers of the United States Life meet these charges with the general and sweeping phrases "untrue" and "black mail." The attorney for the plaintiff is a Mr. Washington I. Buttler. This is the party against whom an atrocious charge was not long ago brought in one of our Police Courts; in which, it is but justice to state, he was discharged on parole, from which we may infer that the *prima-facie* evidence against him was not very damning. Mr. Butler boldly asserted that the charge was the result of a conspiracy to ruin him on account of his litigation with a certain insurance company. This charge the United States Life of course denies. Wherever the truth may be found, the whole affair forms a black chapter in the history of insurance.

*** A curious fact has come to light in the matter of the $64,000.00 cheque forgery on the New York Life. It now appears that the forged cheque was numbered next in order to that actually last drawn by the company. This looks as if the forger had been himself familiar with the books of the company, or else posted by one who was.

*** New developments thicken in the affairs of the Universal Life and its congeneers, the North America and the Guardian Mutual. The Vice-President of the Universal is, it appears, an officer of each of the other companies—which, though declared bankrupt, have hitherto continued their corporate existence—and draws a salary from each, although it is alleged that the income from these institutions has for several years past, been just sufficient to pay their officers' salaries.

From the investigations now pending in the State Department, it would appear as if the principal business of the Universal at present consists in purchasing and cancelling its own policies. It is said to have decreased its insurance $10,252,000.00, and purchased 5,955 policies which were surrendered at the rate of from nineteen to twenty per diem through the past year. It appears to have paid for the surrender of these policies $2,390,007.00 in consequence of which its expenditures are stated to have exceeded its income by the enormous sum of $1,354,128.17. (!) The loss to the policy-holders is however the gain of the stockholders by the large amount of reserve released by the cancellation of fifteen millions worth of insurance. This company, it must be admitted, deals in large figures.

*** We are glad to see that a special Commission has been organized in Conneticut to examine the condition of the Life companies of that State, and report at its next session. The Commission is actively at work, getting together and sifting by the aid of experts all the facts relating to the real estate and mortgages held by all the companies. This part of their work is nearly completed. The premium notes have not yet been examined but it is to be hoped that they will receive a searching investigation; and that also a strict inquiry may be made into the real meaning of such items as "deferred premiums," and "interest due and accrued." With regard to the liabilities, it is said that the Commission will direct an independent valuation of the policies and employ experts for the purposes, so as accurately to determine the value of the re-insurance reserve.

*** The Universal Life is stated to be undergoing investigation. Of its returned assets, $354,451,69 have been rejected by the Superintendent, of which assets $29,300.00 is money loaned on second mortgages, and $81,875.92 interest past due. It appears that this company has loaned on bond and mortgage $1,065,891.50, and the "interest due and accrued" on its list of assets amounts to $109,465.46, or more than 10 per cent. on all the money it has loaned. It would appear from this fact, as if no interest had been collected on any of its bonds and mortgages for upwards of a year past. Can such a result be purely accidental, or is it the fruit of some private arrangement with the mortgage debtors? During the past year the same company has paid for surrendered policies more than three times the amount expended for legitimated losses! Does not this fact give color to the allegations in the Belknap suit?

*** We are indebted to the courtesy of Hon. John F. Smyth, of Albany, Superintendent of Insurance for the State of New York, for Parts I. and II. of his valuable Report on Insurance. Though somewhat reticent they contain sundry disclosures of a suggestive and indeed alarming character. For instance, the returns of the North America Life show a deficiency as to policy-holders of $536,127.80. This is taking its mortgages at its own valuation which is conceded to be very uncertain. The Receiver has commenced suit to recover $1,150,981.00 on deposit at the Department at Albany for the benefit of the registered policies of this Company. As the

Company is still receiving premiums on these policies, it is difficult to see by what right the Receiver can claim moneys held for their special security by the State.

*** The Baltimore Underwriter says that "Mr. Winston is legally and morally entitled to every dollar he has received from the Mutual Life. Mr. Hyde merits every cent paid him by the Equitable. Mr. Furber is entitled to all he has received from the Universal. These men have made the companies they represent, &c." Ahem! If these gentlemen have made these companies, why do they find it necessary to pay to an enormous staff of employees, sums compared to which their own big plums are but as a bite of a cherry? Is this practice recommended by the fact that it is *mutual*, *equitable*, or *universal*?

*** The representatives of the defunct American Popular Life are said to be active opponents of the Insurance Bill under consideration in Ohio; particularly that section which prohibits taking applications, &c., in cyphers or by characters of any sort other than ordinary written language. That is sensible!

*** The report on the condition of the Guardian Mutual Life shows a deficiency of $659,649.83. Its securities consist of mortgages valued at $100,000.00 and deposited at Albany. *Quousque tamen!*

Fine, line engravings of the late Edward I. Sears, LL. D. can be obtained of the Proprietors of the *National Quarterly Review;* price, $1 each, post-paid. Address, DAVID A. GORTON & CO., 291 Broadway, New York.

THE NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW.

SECOND SERIES.

CONTENTS OF THE NUMBER FOR OCTOBER:

I. CIVIL AND MILITARY ADMINISTRATION OF GEN. GRANT.

II. THE INFLUENCE OF CASTE IN WESTERN EUROPE.

III. PRE-HISTORIC MAN IN AMERICA.

IV. GERMAN NOVELS AND NOVELISTS. *Part II.*

V. JOHN LATHROP MOTLEY.

VI. ORIENTAL CHRISTIANITY.

VII. THE PROGRESS OF ASTRONOMY, &C., &C.

TO CONTRIBUTORS.

All articles should be received at least a month before the month of publication. Contributions from all parts are equally welcome: they will be accepted or rejected solely according to their merits or demerits, their suitableness or unsuitableness.

FOREIGN POSTAGE.

☞ The maximum Postage on each number of the NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW to the principal countries of Europe is as follows: to England, Ireland, or Scotland, 30 cents; to France, 20 cents; to any of the German States, 30 cents; to Belgium or Holland, 40 cents; to Italy or Switzerland, 50 cents. The subscription to any of these countries is in proportion to the postage—the amount WITHOUT POSTAGE being $5 a year, payable in advance.

BACK NUMBERS OF THE NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW.

One complete set of the *Review*, unbound, may be had by application of the publishers, on reasonable terms. Single numbers can be furnished of any issue since 1861, except those of Nos. XI and XXI; price, $1.25.

☞ **Those subscribing directly—not through Agents—would oblige the Editor by letting him know when any number to which they are entitled fails to reach them.**

THE
National Quarterly Review.

(FOUNDED BY EDWARD I. SEARS, LL.D.)

1860.

A SCIENTIFIC, LITERARY AND CRITICAL JOURNAL; EACH NUMBER CONTAINING OVER 200 PAGES. PUBLISHED IN JULY, OCTOBER, JANUARY AND APRIL.

EDITED BY

DAVID A. GORTON, M. D.

THE beginning of the eighteenth year of the NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW is signalized by an initial number of a new series. The occasion has afforded us a fitting opportunity to modify certain characteristic features, and introduce changes in the finish and general make-up of the work which we are confident will meet with general approval. And if in these respects the new series prove superior to the old, the credit will be due to the words of cheer and good will, no less than the subtantial aid and encouragement, which have been kindly showered upon us from every quarter. For all this evidence of confidence in us and appreciation of our work we feel profoundly grateful.

It may not be amiss to say that there will be no material change in the policy of the *National Quarterly Review*. The present editor aspires to make it an exponent of the best thought and the noblest sentiment of the age. No subject of human interest shall be foreign to its pages. And we cordially invite the coöperation of those who have earnest thoughts and know how to express them, without distinction of sects, or religious or philosophic belief.

More attention than heretofore will be given to book notices and art criticisms; and to that end the editor respectfully solicits from publishers, at home and abroad, copies of their standard publications, pledging himself, meanwhile, to exercise such justice and impartiality in his criticism as he may be able to do. For the rest, he cannot do better than to reproduce and reaffirm the language of the latest Prospectus issued by the late Editor:

All subjects of public interest will continue to be fully and fearlessly discussed in the *Review*, but without impugning anybody's religious creed. So long as we have control of its pages, we shall oppose bigotry and intolerance, whether Protestant or Catholic. Talent and culture will always be welcome to its pages, and, as much as possible, encouraged.

Education in every form, including art and science, will receive prominent and friendly attention; and whatever seems calculated to retard or vitiate it, whether under the name of a text-book, a painting, a seminary, a gallery, or a college, will be subjected to fearless, but fair and temperate, criticism.

While aiming at being cosmopolitan—doing justice as far as possible to what every nationality has contributed to civilization—THE NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW is decidedly American in feeling and sympathies, and unalterably attached to our free institutions. But far from being the organ of any party or sect—while disclaiming to be either partisan or sectarian—we shall continue to treat the individuals of all parties and sects, according as their public conduct may seem to us to merit. In short, no pains or expense will be spared to render the work worthy of the character assigned to it by the leading organs of public opinion at home and abroad—namely, "*The best of American Reviews.*"

Finally, the editor returns his sincere thanks to the daily and weekly press for the cheering words with which it has received every number of the *Review*, from the first to the last issued. We are also indebted to several of the ablest journals of Great Britain, France, and Germany, for very flattering estimates of our labors.

General Agents: American News Company, New York; Western News Company, Chicago; Central News Co., Philadelphia; New England News Co., Boston; Trübner & Co., 60 Paternoster Row, London.

Books, Catalogues of Schools and Colleges, Manuscripts, etc., should be addressed to the Editor; all business communications to,

DAVID A. GORTON & CO., Publishers,

No. 291 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

SEARS & COLE, Printers, 51 and 53 Maiden Lane, New York.

TERMS.—$5 a Year, invariably in advance. Single Numbers, $1.25.

Vol. XXXV. No. LXX.
FIRST SERIES.

Vol. I. No. II.
SECOND SERIES.

THE

NATIONAL

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

(FOUNDED BY EDWARD I. SEARS, LL.D.)

EDITED BY

DAVID A. GORTON, M. D.

Pulchrum est bene facere reipublicæ, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est.

CONTENTS OF NUMBER FOR OCTOBER, 1877.

I.—THE CIVIL AND MILITARY ADMINISTRATION OF GENERAL ULYSSES S. GRANT.

II.—THE INFLUENCE OF CASTE ON WESTERN EUROPE.

III.—GERMAN NOVELS AND NOVELISTS. PART II.

IV.—ORIENTAL CHRISTIANITY.

V.—HARRIET MARTINEAU.

VI.—ODD CUSTOMS IN OLD FAMILIES.

VII.—NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.

VIII.—EDUCATIONAL NOTES.

IX.—LIFE-INSURANCE NOTES.

NEW YORK:

DAVID A. GORTON & CO., Publishers,

291 BROADWAY.

GENERAL AGENTS:—NEW YORK: AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY.
CHICAGO: WESTERN NEWS COMPANY.
PHILADELPHIA: CENTRAL NEWS CO.—BOSTON: NEW ENGLAND NEWS CO.; A. WILLIAMS & CO., 283 WASHINGTON STREET.
CANADA: TORONTO NEWS CO., TORONTO.—LONDON: TRÜBNER & CO., 60 PATERNOSTER ROW.

1877.

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1877, by DAVID A. GORTON & CO., in the Office of the Librarian of Congress, in Washington, D. C.

CHICKERING & SONS'

Piano-Fortes

Have taken the FIRST PRIZE whenever and wherever Exhibited.

London, 1851. Paris, 1867. Santiago de Chili, 1875. Philadelphia, 1876.

These Instruments are acknowledged as the

STANDARD INSTRUMENTS

Of the World.

Over **51,000** of them have been made and sold since their introduction.

EVERY PIANO WARRANTED FOR FIVE YEARS.

Send for Illustrated Catalogue.

WAREROOMS:

130 Fifth Avenue, New York,

146 Tremont Street, Boston.

THE

NATIONAL

QUARTERLY REVIEW,

(FOUNDED BY EDWARD I. SEARS, LL.D.)

EDITED BY

DAVID A. GORTON, M. D.

Pulchrum est bene facere reipublicæ, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est.

VOL. XXXV. No. LXX, OF FIRST SERIES.

VOL. I. No. 2, OF SECOND SERIES.—OCTOBER, 1877.

NEW YORK:
DAVID A. GORTON & CO., PUBLISHERS.
1877.

1877, Oct. 13.
Gift of
Saml A. Green, M.D.
of Boston.
(H. U. 1851.)

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1877, by
DAVID A. GORTON & CO.,
in the Office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington, D. C.

CONTENTS OF No. II.

ART. PAGE.

I.—THE CIVIL AND MILITARY ADMINISTRATION OF GENERAL ULYSSES S. GRANT 213

1. *Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman.* By HIMSELF.
2. *History of the Army of the Cumberland, its Organization, Campaigns, and Battles.* By THOMAS B. VAN HORNE, U. S. A.
3. *Campaigns of the Army of the Potomac.* By WILLIAM SWINTON.
4. *Military History of Ulysses S. Grant, from April, 1861, to April, 1865.* By ADAM BADEAU.

II.—THE INFLUENCE OF CASTE ON WESTERN EUROPE 256

1. *The New Doomsday-Book.*
2. *History of the Middle Ages.* By HENRY HALLAM, LL.D.
3. *History of England.* By DAVID HUME.
4. *History of Russia from the Foundation of the Empire, by Rourick, to the Close of the Hungarian War.* By ALPHONSE RABBE and JONATHAN DUNCAN, B. A.
5. *History of the English Poor Law.* By SIR GEORGE NICHOLS, K. C. B.

III.—GERMAN NOVELS AND NOVELISTS—PART II. 284

1. *Auf der Höhe; Barfüssele.* VON BERTHOLD AUERBACH.
2. *Das Haideprinzesschen.* VON E. MARLITT.
3. *Um Sceptre und Kronen.* VON GREGOR SUMARROW.
4. *Ein Arzt der Seele.* VON WILHELMINE VON HILLERN.
5. *Ein Held der Feder; Veneta.* VON ERNST WERNER.

IV.—ORIENTAL CHRISTIANITY..... 313

1. *An Ecclesiastical History, Ancient and Modern, from the Birth of Christ to the beginning of the Eighteenth Century.* By JOHN LAWRENCE MOSHEIM, D. D.
2. *Oriens Christianus in quatuor patriarchibus digestus, quo exhibentur Ecclesiæ, Patriarchæ, ceterique præsules totius Orientis.* M. LE QUIEN.
3. *The History of Christianity in Judæa.* By J. HOUGH.
4. *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* By HENRY GIBBON.

V.—HARRIETT MARTINEAU..... 341

1. *Harriet Martineau's Autobiography, with Memorials.* Edited by MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN.

VI.—ODD CUSTOMS IN OLD FAMILIES..... 366

1. *The Origin of Civilisation, and the Primitive Condition of Man.* By SIR JOHN LUBBOCK, Bart., M. P., F. R. S.
2. *Primitive Culture. Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art and Custom.* By E. B. TYLOR.
3. *Primitive Marriage: an Inquiry into the Origin of the Force of Capture in Marriage Ceremonies.* By JOHN F. M'LENNAN, M. A.
4. *Researches into the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization.* By LEWIS H. MORGAN, LL.D.

VII.—NOTICES AND CRITICISMS..... 382

VIII.—EDUCATIONAL NOTES..... 405

IX.—LIFE-INSURANCE NOTES..... 410

THE

NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1877.

ART. I.*—1. *Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman.* By HIMSELF. 2 vols. New York.

2. *History of the Army of the Cumberland, its Organization, Campaigns and Battles.* By THOMAS B. VAN HORNE, U. S. A. 2 vols. Cincinnati.

3. *Campaigns of the Army of the Potomac.* By WILLIAM SWINTON. New York.

4. *Military History of Ulysses S. Grant, from April,* 1861, *to April,* 1865. By ADAM BADEAU. New York.

THE close of a presidential term, according to the precedents in our history, practically ends the public career of the presidential incumbent. The first in order of time as in merit and services, whose example may well furnish a model for his successors, retired to his modest home on the banks of the Potomac, quietly to enjoy the pleasures of a country-gentleman, and to practise the virtues of the christian patriot. But though weary of official honors, Washington was willing to relinquish the enjoyments of domestic life and the "retirements

* The following able article on the public career of General Grant is from the pen of an estimable citizen and an old army officer; and while we heartily sympathize in the main with the author's estimate of the demerits of General Grant, we wish he had been able to find in the man more to commend—if not to admire.—ED.

grateful to his soul,*" though happily the sacrifice was not required, when hostilities were threatened by France. Other Presidents of the Republic, notably Madison and Monroe, have displayed in their retiracy a dignity, though less conspicuous than Washington's, equally worthy of imitation. Such examples as these, however, are rare in the history of governments and rulers, the tendency being to seek to perpetuate their importance and continue to be the recipients of worldly preferment and applause.

There is nothing in his past history, in his mental and moral organization, in his tastes or habits, in the limited scope of his acquirements, or in the lessons which he appears to have drawn from his civil experience, which can possibly create a demand for further service from ex-President Grant. The present moment, therefore, seems not unfitting for a discussion of his claims to consideration and of the mystery of his history. The intimate and confidential relations existing between the author of the *Military History* of General Grant and its subject, should, perhaps, commend it to more than ordinary attention as an authoritative narrative and exposition of certain events of the war, not to be found elsewhere. It must be highly gratifying to the author, that his stupendous labors have brought him to the close of one volume. His countrymen who shall make themselves familiar with his achievements, will doubtless be duly grateful that he was able to divert so much of his time from the very arduous and responsible duties of military secretary and aide-de-camp to the General-in-Chief, to the accomplishment of a task which may well be designated as a labor of love, for we have altogether failed to discover in its hundreds of pages a single, important, additional fact to our previous knowledge of the war. With the "personal recollections" of enterprising "War Correspondents," the *Heroic Deeds of Heroic Men*, in a popular magazine; the stately pages of rose-water sentiment from army residuary legatees, and now the quasi-official history of Mr. Secretary Badeau, the measure of rebellion literature for

* Letter to General Knox.

this century at least should be full, even if the last note in the gamut of glorification has not been sounded. We do not purpose to enter upon an elaborate review of the literary merits of the military histories whose titles are prefixed to this article. Neither shall we pause to specify in detail the points made by Mr. Badeau, from which we are compelled to dissent. His work was originally designed, doubtless, for no more ambitious purpose than to add another term to the then undeveloped series of indiscriminate laudations, of which the subject became the willing or unwilling recipient, from the capture of Vicksburgh to the fourth of March, 1869.

The book affords evidence that the author has not forgotten the lessons learned from his former connection with the press. Indeed, if we are rightly informed, he brings to his present task some peculiar qualifications, having heretofore had considerable experience in studies of this nature, in his earlier volume—the *History of a Vagabond.* Certain is it that he seldom forgets his vocation, and writes with the spirit of an adjutant and the unalloyed devotion of the "special" war correspondent of a division or brigade commander. We may conclude, therefore, that while Captain Badeau appropriates to his hero the phrase which forms the motto of his history, *pulchrum est bene facere reipublicæ*, by parity of reasoning, he would not be unwilling to have ascribed to himself, with the change of a word, the concluding member of the sentence from Sallust, *etiam bene* [*scribere*] *haud absurdum est.* So long an interval has passed since the appearance of the first instalment of the *Military History of Ulysses S. Grant*, and the political necessity for a continuation of the work having been effectually extinguished by the people in their emphatic rebuke of the "third term" aspirations, it is hardly probable that the concluding portion, if written, will ever pass into the hands of the printer. But posterity will have little cause for regret at such a taking off. In view of the previous demands on public forbearance and of the small amount of historic matter presented, not already familiar to the ordinary reader, it would really be a "cruel and unusual," and therefore unconstitutional punishment, to continue so unsatisfactory a task. Without following the gallant

captain very closely in the order of time, we purpose to give in our own way a rapid sketch of some of the prominent events of the war, with such views thereon and such deductions therefrom, as we believe to be in accordance with truth, and which will be sanctioned by the final verdict of history.

Whatever may be the military estimate, or the estimate of those who have no ulterior motives to warp their minds or mould their opinions, of the professional merits of General Grant and his services in the war of the rebellion, it must be confessed that by nothing else in our history pertaining to individuals or to parties, has the tremendous power of the press been so signally demonstrated. The oracles of the daily and weekly journals chanted for so many years his pæans, without change of note, that no one may hope to effect any essential revolution in the public opinion of the present generation. But if we shall be able to give only a clew to a more enlightened judgment than that which has been thus cheaply manufactured, our labor will not be wholly in vain.

It would hardly be just to hold General Grant to a very rigid accountability touching his literary delinquencies. His ideas of grammatical construction are extremely crude; his private correspondence would doubtless show very little reverence for the commonly received rules of syntax, or any recognized standard in orthography; and it is understood that he prides himself on the paucity of his reading, and the slovenliness of his rhetoric. But this will be regarded as another Napoleonic quality. There are satisfactory reasons for believing that not many paragraphs of his "inimitable" reports were written by himself, and that these papers were ordinarily subjected to a refining and eliminating process by a member of his military family. This fact may account for much that is in the elaborate narrative of 1865, and for much that is not in it. That narrative formed with many the civil basis of his claims to the Presidency. But whether the product of one mind or of a combination, whether a monolith or a mosaic, little is hazarded in pronouncing it one of the most meagre, unsatisfactory and disingenuous official papers ever given to the public by any of the general officers of the United States Army. Let the

"style" which has been so heartily commended by certain critics, pass for what it may be worth, if there is any simile in the worst report ever written, from the time that Little John may have hastily dictated a despatch from Sherwood Forrest to Robin Hood, down to the last account of a raid across the Rio Grande to the chief of a band of Mexican rancheros, more commonplace and inelegant or more redolent of unsavory associations than one of its *memorabilia*—which his admirers so often quote for its pregnant beauty—that of the "balky team," we have not seen it. Not less vicious in taste and equally characteristic of the esthetic culture of the author, and alike inconsistent with the true dignity and just claims of a historic narrative, is the "*Go in*" to Sheridan. The brief telegraphic despatches in which General Grant's movements were chronicled by the daily papers in the relaxation period of 1865, furnish the source whence these choice specimens of false rhetoric and taste were drawn; and we cannot complain that out of the abundance of the heart and the experience of the life, the mouth speaketh. But the evidence of General Grant's literary deficiencies is not wholly derived from his official papers. These were from the necessity of the case, frequently prepared by others, and he may therefore justly take an exception to a conviction on such testimony. Quality, however, on this point is more decisive than quantity, and a genuine illustration—a gem of its kind—has been given to the public, which fortunately bears a certificate of authenticity, which an evil-disposed person might think it really requires—from the veritable author of the Military History. We quote only the following sentence, which Dogberry might read with envy, Bombastes Furioso with admiration: "You, nor no man living is authorized to speak for me in political matters, and I ask you to desist in future!"

The claim of originating the idea of simultaneous and united action in all the Union forces, and which serves as the loop whereon to hang that felicitous figure of the "balky team," which was at first only artfully insinuated but has since been dogmatically affirmed, is flagrantly unjust and unsupported by facts long and well-known to readers of ordinary intelli-

gence. In a letter to the Secretary of War, written as early as 1861, General McClellan insisted that the entire military field must be grasped as a whole and not in detached parts; and that all the operations of the Army should be directed by a "single will." And in a "memorandum" previously prepared for and submitted to President Lincoln, the prominent subsequent movements of the war will be found outlined with singular and sagacious accuracy. Unfettered by the ambitious meddlers of the War Department, General Grant was permitted to exercise that supreme control which was taken from his predecessor when he left Washington for the field, and which while exercised by him was, with hardly an exception, productive of brilliant results. Deficient as General McClellan may have been in some of the qualities indispensable to a great and successful commander, trammelled as he was by political affiliations, as a military organizer and administrator he was preëminent and without an equal. His proper post was at Washington, as the counsellor and adviser of the War Department, the position to which General Halleck was called in 1862, and in which he certainly did not vindicate the wisdom of the appointment, or add any thing to his reputation. There is probably no intelligent and fair minded man in the army who will not readily acknowledge that at the time General McClellan was ordered from West Virginia to the Capital, he was the only person in the United States who could have organized such a body as the Army of the Potomac. Though staggering under the depressing paralysis of two Bull Runs, the memory of which, to the last, clung to it like the poisoned shirt of Nessus, then it was that the noble army of the Potomac under General McClellan's leadership,

"Shed fast atonement for its first delay,"

and by its devotion, skill and gallantry, arrested the onward march of the rebel invaders, and saved the nation on the bloody fields of South Mountain and Antietam. Why that defeat did not include the capture or destruction of General Lee's army will perhaps pass into history, when some of the

actors in the drama shall break the seal of personal friendship, and discard the fancied obligations of professional confidence.

The object of a report from the Commander-in-Chief, as it has heretofore been understood and acted upon by the Generals of our armies, is not merely to describe the marches and counter-marches of certain divisions of an army, or the movements by which triumphs have been achieved, victories won, and disasters averted or incurred. These, it is true, should claim a due prominence in such a report; but without a clear exposition of the means and agencies employed, the number and character of the forces engaged, and the extent of the losses sustained in the attainment of the final result, such a paper would be manifestly incomplete, and would entirely fail in its object — unless indeed that object was concealment — and for the purposes of history would be utterly worthless. Now in these essential elements of a narration which is to contribute authoritatively to the material of the future historian of the war, in the report submitted by General Grant devoted to the concluding operations of the final campaign, there is hardly a basis for a conjecture *in reference to the strength and losses of the army immediately commanded by himself.* The strength and losses of the armies under Generals Sherman, Thomas, Banks, and others are given with grim satisfaction, but we look in vain for these facts concerning the armies of the Potomac and the James. Is there not something more than mere inadvertence on these points of such painful interest? There seems to have been a pre-determination to avoid even by implication any information as to the number of men with which General Grant opened his campaign against Richmond; the number of his reinforcements after the passage of the Rapidan, and the number so coldly consigned to nameless graves, before the final collapse at Appomattox Court-house. These omissions strike us as by far the most forcible illustrations yet furnished of General Grant's "remarkable reticence." Taking into consideration the amount and quality of the fighting, and the unhealthy character at that season of the year of the field of operations, the losses of General McClellan in the Peninsular campaign were not

extraordinary; yet he was popularly styled by his enemies "the grave-digger of the Chickahominy;" and this phrase in the Western States constituted a very considerable portion of the political and partisan ammunition with which he was assailed in the Presidential canvass of 1864. But whatever may have been the number of those who in the four months' campaign of General McClellan, fell before the onset of rebel battalions or perished from the unwise inaction amid the malaria of Virginia swamps, a knowledge of all the facts would probably show that four times as many found a soldier's burial under the headlong and remorseless system of General Grant, even before he pitched his tent or unfurled his flag within sight of the waters of the James. If the legions of that magnificent army which crossed the Rapidan on the morning of the fourth of May, 1864, the ghastly and mutilated skeletons of not less than eighty thousand men, who in the impartial judgment of the world were sacrificed for no higher purpose than to maintain a theory, could now, as in a dream of the night, pass in review before the cold, passionless eye of their commander, he might perhaps be startled into a momentary consciousness. This was the price the nation paid for seeking to develop a respectable Pennsylvania patent lawyer into an American Carnot! A direct line of operations from Washington to Richmond, in order that an immense force should always be interposed between Lee's army and himself, was demanded by the Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton, whose dreams, waking or sleeping, seemed to be ever painfully disturbed by apprehensions of personal safety and the terrific phantom of Mosby's Black Horse Cavalry. It is a military fact, though not generally recognized, that this campaign had only a remote and incidental connection with the fall and surrender of Richmond, and the dispersion and dissolution of the Confederate Government. According to all professional principles, as commonly understood, the campaign which commenced on the fourth of May, properly ended on the fifteenth of June, when the army of the Potomac was transferred to the other side of the James, and entered upon an original series of operations from a new base.

The capture of Richmond was the result of movements and combinations entirely independent of the bloody struggles in the Wilderness and Cold Harbor, and might have occurred at a much earlier day if those battles had been avoided by the adoption of a judicious plan of operations, or even of General McClellan's line at the beginning, instead of at the end of, the campaign. In every offensive movement of the army of the Potomac, the first consideration was the safety of the Capital which could always have been effected in two ways. With Washington as a base, the Union army might have been so manœuvred that while constantly threatening the line of operations and base of the enemy, it should at all times cover that city; or by operating from a base that would have permitted a direct advance upon Richmond. To defend a position it is not always necessary to concentrate an army there, or even to interpose a force between such a point and the enemy. A position threatening the enemy's flank compels him to change front and diverge from his line in order to force a battle. Much like this would have been General McClellan's position at or near Urbana, in relation to the rebel army in March, 1862. And if the head of the War Department, so often

> ——— "Moving as a sick man in his sleep
> "Three paces and then faltering,"

had understood so obvious a principle, and could have quieted his fears sufficiently to permit its application, it might not have been too late, after the arrival of the army of the Potomac at Cold Harbor, to retrieve the incipient blunder, and pluck at the last moment the waning honor of the campaign. If instead of retaining a large army corps before Washington or foolishly sending it on a wild-goose chase up the Shenandoah Valley, Secretary Stanton had ordered it to General McClellan as was promised, even as late as the fifteenth of June, little is hazarded by the assumption that the army of the Potomac would have entered Richmond in triumph before the ensuing fourth of July, 1862. But timidity and indecision, combined perhaps with professional jealously, prevented so desirable a consummation; the war in that quarter and in every quarter was languidly prosecuted and needlessly pro-

tracted, and the destiny of the "Confederacy" left trembling in the balance. The tide of success was permitted to ebb and flow through three more long and weary years, before the integrity of the nation was assured, and the ensign of the Republic waved in unchallenged triumph over the soil of every State.

A General capable of comprehending and applying the true principles of his art would never have adopted without urgent protest the plan of operations pursued in Virginia in 1864. With the immense number of men composing the army of the Potomac and the army of the James, General Grant was at that time, but tragically unconscious of the fact, absolutely master of the situation. There was no reason for an attempted "feint" from West Point to cover that absurd and unmeaning movement to Bermuda Hundred, whereby the coöperation of a large army was lost at a most critical moment of the campaign. Simultaneously with the passage of the Rapidan by the army of the Potomac, the army of the James under a capable and energetic commander, should have been thrown forward to a position between the Pamunky and Mattapony Rivers, from which to threaten the intersection of the Fredericksburg and Central railroads. General Lee would at once have been seriously alarmed for the safety of his communications, and in all probability would have immediately fallen back to the junction, to prevent being cut off from Richmond. If he had not thus acted, he would have been forced to this fatal alternative: to divide his forces in order to hold the army of the James in check, or to confront General Grant with his entire army. In the former event he must inevitably have been beaten in detail; in the latter, the advanced force without opposition would have been able to take quiet possession of the rebel Capital, and thus have wiped out the "Confederacy" without further effort. Much would have been thus gained in time and treasure, while the bloody story of those Golgothas of the Wilderness and Cold Harbor, would not stain forever the pages of our military annals. But General Grant strangely under-estimated the strength of the enemy's position and forces, and sadly misapplied his own means and resources.

By a direct movement of one of his armies he sought to force General Lee from his intrenchments, and by repeated repulses and enormous losses, he was soon compelled to call for reinforcements, until so many troops were withdrawn from Washington, that the city barely escaped capture from a mere raiding party. Not only this, but he had ultimately to recall from Bermuda Hundred a portion of that army whose assistance at the outset he had rejected with contemptuous vengeance or with criminal ignorance. Military history records few events more sadly instructive than this series of operations in their unhappy conception, their sanguinary prosecution, and in spite of the apparent paradox, their successful though inglorious close.

Judged therefore on well-recognized military principles, and measuring the results by a just application of those principles; taking also in consideration the strength of the forces engaged and the relative resources of the contending parties, we are driven to the conclusion that there was no such ignoble and thorough failure in the war, as that commonly called "Grant's Richmond campaign." When he commenced his movement the object proposed to himself was indisputably to keep his army interposed between the rebel commander and the Federal Capital, and to strike Richmond from the north. But so unconscious was he of the magnitude of the task before him, or so incapable of wielding aright the tremendous power with which he was intrusted, or so confident was he of meeting with no serious opposition, that, as has been already noticed, he deliberately deprived himself of thirty-five or forty thousand men, whose intelligent coöperation would then have insured a speedy and easy triumph. For the objects just specified — in both of which he failed — he fought the desperate battles of the Wilderness and Spottsylvania Court-house; battles which were utterly barren in fruitful results to the Union cause. The "attrition" to which he so complacently refers in his report, and by which he proposed to destroy the rebel power, much longer continued would have elevated the so-called "Confederacy" into the dignity of a nation. And after recklessly throwing away the lives of

untold thousands of his contrymen, he evinced his philosophic indifference thereat, and his bold confidence in the ignorance and credulity of the people, by that singularly characteristic dispatch, the memory of which ought never to be recalled without a pang, that he would "fight it out on that line if it took all summer." This utterance was in the same spirit with Hooker's arrogant and impious challenge to the Almighty at Chancellorsville, and resulted as such utterances are apt to do, in ignominious and disastrous defeat. It was but a brief period after this braggart display, when the public was confounded by a bulletin from the Lieutenant-General, which announced that he had precipitately abandoned "that line" and taken refuge on General McClellan's. To the military profession, though not to the masses of the people, this was a confession that the campaign to Richmond had failed; that Lee had baffled him at every point on his own chosen line of operations; had finally driven him unceremoniously from that line, and under the convenient mystery of a "flank movement"— the ever-present subterfuge to conceal the blunders of the war—he must strike the citadel of the rebellion at the point aimed at by his wronged and ridiculed predecessor. If he had weakened the enemy in proportion to his own losses, the campaign, though a failure in its immediate results, would not have been wholly lost to the country; but so far as he has ventured to lift the veil which has been so persistently and studiously drawn over this portion of the history of these events, we are only permitted to learn that there was a most fearful sacrifice of human life in the Union army in every engagement, while a comparatively inconsiderable loss only was inflicted upon the rebels.

For a single illustration of the character and results of these successive battles, let us take the conflict or group of conflicts, for it is understood that each corps commander was directed to engage without reference to other troops than his own, at Cold Harbor, where the number of killed and wounded of the Union army was not less than ten or twelve thousand, while it is asserted and believed that the entire rebel loss was less than one-tenth of this number. And it has

been stated by the commander of a North Carolina rebel brigade, that after that battle fourteen hundred loyal soldiers were found dead in front of his position and buried by his command, and that he lost but one man! Does modern military history furnish any parallel or approximation to this? Yet many who were esteemed oracles, and were already discounting the future and looking to the rewards of the next Presidency, have treated this campaign as the "crowning mercy" of the war. It is hardly a figure of speech to say that the march of General Grant's army on his original line was through a pathway of blood; and it has been stated by a member of the Committee on the Conduct of the War, that after the fighting commenced—with an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men—"reinforcements from Washington poured down to Grant as water flows down the Mississippi." The Capital was literally stripped of its defences to fill the ghastly void created by the appalling losses of the Wilderness; and after that grim scintillation of humor concerning the "all-summer line," Washington was completely at the mercy of the rebels. Of this fact they were fully aware, and thereby hangs a tale which is not without a moral, and may be worthy of preservation.

The well-laid scheme to capture the Federal City did not fail from any defect in the plan, but from the non-observance of rigorous temperance principles. Whether or not the ancient city on the banks of the Tiber was saved by the cackling of a goose, Washington owed its deliverance to a more ignoble champion—the potent charms of a barrel of whiskey. The advance brigade of the rebels on the occasion referred to reached the residence of a prominent politician, within a few miles of the city, without encountering any serious opposition. A halt was ordered to enable the remainder of the force to come up bofore proceeding to the attack. Early and Breckinridge soon arrived in buoyant spirits, hilariously confident of having speedy possession of the Union Capital. But pending their advent the premises had been explored, and a liberal supply of "genuine old Bourbon" had been discovered by the pioneers. The joy of the two Generals, as the dome of the

Capitol glittered invitingly before them, was feeble in comparison with that of their comrades of the advance party, for like Burns' hero, already

> " ——they were glorious
> " O'er 'a the ills o' life victorious."

The exultant spirit of the leaders was turned into fierce and fiery indignation, when they found their men so overcome by their libations as to render a prompt forward movement impossible; and it is understood that in order to get them out of and away from a house of such rare, hospitable attractions, it became necessary to burn it. This delay was as valuable to one side as it was damaging to the other; for the sixth army corps was thereby enabled to reach the vicinity in time to repel the invaders, who in their departure were not careful to stand upon the order of their going.

Nearly all the hard fighting and most of the losses attending the "triumphant Richmond campaign," occurred before the sight of the James River gladdened the expectant eyes of the Union army. Having arrived within cannon shot of the rebel Capital, whether General Grant considered that his army needed rest, or whether he was uncertain or ignorant of what was next to be done, is a problem that, with the data furnished by himself, cannot be easily solved. Thus much however is matter of history: he remained there practically inactive for months, though at irregular intervals "setting fire to a standing field of wheat;" indulging in an unmeaning "artillery duel," or getting up an extra sensation for carnage rather than conquest, like that huge fiasco, the "Petersburg mine." No genuine effort was made to capture the city of Richmond by regular approaches, yet General Grant, according to his biographers, had learned, or according to earlier authorities, might have learned without much genius or application, from the principles of Vauban, as enforced by Professor Mahan at West Point, that with the means at his command a period of fifty days was long enough for the siege and surrender of such a place. Could Generals Lee and Grant have exchanged places, would this delay have been possible? It is true the country was diurnally assured that all was right;

that affairs were admirably progressing; that he was still "fighting it out on that line," and as satisfactory and conclusive evidence of this, "he was holding Lee in a vise." But the uninitiated in the mysteries of war as expounded by the "Confidence mutual admiration society," were never able exactly to determine whether Lee or Grant was quivering in the iron jaws of that Cyclopean instrument. One seemed to be "holding" about as tightly as the other, and notwithstanding the tenacious grasp of the "vise," when he concluded to go, General Lee escaped from Richmond and traversed a distance of fifty miles with his army without hindrance; and but for the hapless *contretemps*, by which he was deprived of his expected commissary supplies at Amelia Court-house, he would probably have effected a junction with Johnston. By a figure highly characteristic and suggestive, though perhaps not altogether original, General Grant described the position of General Butler's army as "in a bottle strongly corked." The odium attached to such a position clearly belongs to him who ordered it, rather than to the involuntary occupant; and it might be well if General Grant or his biographer would explain why he ordered that army into such a position when at an important crisis it was wanted elsewhere, or wherein his own position for so many months was in any military sense more effective.

Few persons have perhaps studied to any extent the operations herein briefly sketched, without contrasting or comparing the capacities and qualities of the rival commanders, as illustrated by themselves. In view of the stubborn and prolonged resistance which with vastly inferior forces he opposed to his antagonist, no one can deny that General Lee manifested the qualities of fortitude, energy and skill in a high degree. But it is difficult to understand, even after conceding to him rare and distinguished merit as a soldier, the enthusiastic feeling of admiration, gratitude and affection, with which his memory is cherished by the white people of the Southern states. What Napoleon was to the "old Guard;" what Cromwell was to the stern and rugged veterans who fought at Naseby and Worcester; what Washington was to the scarred, devoted and ill-requited patriots who gathered round him for

the last time at Newburgh, and with tearful eyes and throbbing hearts received his last farewell, the name of Robert E. Lee is to the surviving warriors of the Southern Confederacy. But Napoleon, Cromwell and Washington purchased the devotion and admiration of their countrymen by the acquisition of glory and empire; deliverance from the rule of a perjured and despotic king, or liberty and independence for a Continent, while Lee bequeathed to his admirers only Apples of Sodom, the sackcloth and ashes of defeat and humiliation, the bitter and enduring memories of a Lost Cause.

The events immediately preceding the closing scene of the ninth of April, 1865, show that General Lee possessed an accurate knowledge of the situation, and though he could not be perfectly indifferent to, yet he was perfectly unmoved by all the "masterly strategy" and abortive efforts of General Grant during his seven months' incubation between the James and the Appomattox; and but for that awful phantom which had moved so mysteriously from Atlanta, through Georgia and the Carolinas, and had gradually assumed such stupendous proportions as it advanced, his immense army of twenty-six thousand men held in "Grant's vise" of four times the number, might have occupied the rebel Capital for months to come.

From the moment that General Sherman abandoned his base on the fourteenth of November, 1864, there seemed to be a general suspension of effort elsewhere, so far as the rebels would permit, and the subsequent movements of our forces around Richmond appeared really to depend upon his success for their own. The prolonged inactivity there is wholly inexplicable on any other hypothesis; and General Grant's drowsy inertness through so many weary months must be accepted as conclusive testimony on this point.

The history of General Grant's operations around Richmond is substantially a repetition of his previous efforts during the Rebellion. Strange as the assertion may appear, and opposed as it doubtless is to the honest convictions of so many of his countrymen, yet when the private memoirs and correspondence of the prominent actors in the events of those days shall be published, few will be able to doubt that his military

successes were achieved by the abilities of others rather than his own; that his reverses were due to the headstrong and unwise reliance which he placed on his own judgment, and that his reputation for soldiership must be derived from a liberal appropriation to himself of the genius and services of his lieutenants. History furnishes many similar examples, and it is, indeed, the rule in every department of human endeavor where the result is due to organized and not to individual effort.

It may be considered singular that General Grant's "luck" should have been so continuous; but the continuity was apparent rather than real, and when it was broken, the public press, and especially the politicians, resolutely closed their eyes. Our own history furnishes many similar instances. In the Mexican war, General Twiggs was a remarkable illustration of the power of "luck" to give fame and reputation without capacity or even courage. And in the war of the Revolution, Schuyler and Lincoln—two highly meritorious officers—found "luck" invariably against them, while Gates was recognized as the hero of Saratoga, although not on the field; was a mere pompous and conceited pretender, and yet almost succeeded in supplanting Washington. No one at the outset of his movement into Tennessee was probably more surprised at his apparent greatness and rapidly acquired distinction than General Grant himself. Halleck planned the campaign, and the operations were under the watchful genius and vigilant guardianship of Generals C. F. Smith and Sherman. The man whose comprehensive survey of the situation had caused him to be sent into retirement by an astute Secretary, had obtained his enlargement just in time to impart to another the benefit of his professional abilities and indomitable energy. Such an example served to inspire General Grant with confidence and stimulate his sluggish nature into activity; and by his efforts and zeal in securing the transports in the vicinity of St. Louis and Paducah, General Sherman was enabled to send forward the needed reinforcements of men and munitions to General Grant's army, and to sustain the commanding general with words of wisdom and encouragement. At Fort Donelson, General Grant was aided, nay

guided, by the counsel and experience, the skill and gallantry of General C. F. Smith, who was then considered the foremost soldier in the Federal army, and without whose zealous coöperation and dashing intrepidity in the final assault, it is by no means certain the conquest of the place would have been achieved.

In the ill-devised, blunderingly prosecuted, though finally successful series of affairs connected with the capture of Vicksburg, there was nothing in the conduct of General Grant to indicate professional training or a theoretical knowledge of the principles of modern warfare. The operations consisted of a succession of experiments, without any matured plan or fixed purpose, and altogether unworthy of a great soldier. To borrow the style and phraseology of his official papers, he understood that he was to "Go in" and he at once resolved not merely to go in, but to "Go in blind." And blind to the magnitude of the undertaking, to the strength and resources of the enemy, and to his own capabilities; blind as to the means to be employed, and as to the consequences of his conduct, he went recklessly on. At the outset, as he would doubtless himself express it, he failed "to come to time," and subjected General Sherman to unjust reproach for alleged rashness in the Yazoo or Chickasaw Bluffs affair; the unequal conflict having been forced upon him by the failure of General Grant to meet his engagements. This failure was in consequence of the capture of his depot of supplies at Holly Springs; but as the success of the enterprise wholly depended upon retaining possession of that place, a capable General with ample means would have had sufficient forecast to provide against so disastrous a calamity. Historians of the siege of Vicksburg have sorely satirized the subject of "military science," by identifying it with the measures resorted to for the reduction of that place. One of these writers asserts with profound and impressive gravity—what few persons will be daring enough to contradict—that the operations about Vicksburg "are unparalleled in the history of military science." Such a phrase may perhaps prove that the writer was pitiably ignorant of the signification of the terms he employed to describe transactions which were

evidently beyond his comprehension, and can prove nothing more. No intelligent person in pursuit of a "parallel" to those operations would ever look into a treatise on "military science"—for in a work on that subject such achievements could have no place and could not possibly be recorded—but into the history of military blunders, in which, if anywhere, he might hope to find it. Neither in science nor in skill did these performances—though of similar character—equal the style of systematic "bushwacking" which Stonewall Jackson, with a keenness of perception and delicacy of touch, unrivalled by the masters of the military art, so strikingly displayed in "feeling" the outer rim of the horseshoe which formed Hooker's line of battle at Chancellorsville, preparatory to the utter demolition of the right wing, and the temporary, if not permanent demoralization of the then commander of the Army of the Potomac.

General Grant's first effort at Vicksburg was to adopt the idea and renew the attempt of General Williams, to construct a canal which would isolate the town and thus open the navigation of the river. There is little doubt that if this work had been prosecuted with ordinary judgment and intelligence, it would have been successful, and the proposed end speedily attained. But after keeping thousands of men for months toiling in the mud in the tedious process of excavation, their labors were rendered abortive in a single hour, by strangely neglecting to take into account the power of the current, and not leaving sufficient resistance at the upper end of the trench. Having failed to provide a new channel for the waters of the Mississippi, not at all disheartened, General Grant essayed another scheme in which he sought unconsciously to emulate the paradox of Voltaire's story of Ebony and Topaz. But experiment number two resulted as failure number two. A third project soon followed; a third canal was proposed from the Mississippi River to Moon Lake, and the faithful historian must record failure number three. But the end was not yet. What could not be accomplished by the Yazoo at Moon Lake, he thinks may be possible at Steele's Bayou: another trial is therefore made and ends in failure number four. The last experiment

seems to have exhausted the resources of the commanding general. The President and the country were weary and disappointed with his want of success. There remained yet one plan in the Grant lottery that might yield the prize, and this plan was practicable before the cut-off was attempted, or the bubble of Moon Lake floated in the brain of the inventor. The final experiment was to move his troops down the right bank of the river, run the gauntlet of the rebel batteries with his gunboats, recross the river below the city, and assail Vicksburg from the rear. But whence was derived the inspiration of this movement? The facts though not to be found, so far as we know, in any written or printed paper, may be briefly stated: The failures around Vicksburg having almost passed into a proverb, and the President, sore under the derision thus provoked, abruptly directed General Grant to abandon the siege and join his forces to those of General Banks—his senior by commission—at Port Hudson. The gunboats and transports having passed the Vicksburg batteries with little damage and reached a point of safety below, Admiral Porter, the naval commander, suggested to General Grant that he intended to bombard Grand Gulf, and if he (Grant) would land his troops, he might capture the garrison which would be driven out. This would only be an episode in the direction of Port Hudson, and the army was accordingly supplied with three days' rations in their haversacks, and went ashore for the purpose indicated. General Grant found an ample supply of provisions in the country, and learned from prisoners that were captured soon after landing, that a rebel force was not far off, and that their capture might easily be effected. In this enterprise he found himself in rear of Vicksburg; and having thirty thousand men in his command, and having ascertained from sources considered trustworthy that General Pemberton's forces did not much exceed half that number, he determined to renew his efforts to get possession of the long coveted prize. The rebel commander believed that Grant's army was sixty thousand strong, or double his own force. Thus by the ignorance of both Generals was the final triumph consummated. Had General Pemberton known the actual

strength of his opponent, he would doubtless by a dashing sortie have raised the siege and either captured or destroyed the loyal army; and had not General Grant been deceived as to Pemberton's numbers it is not probable that he would have attempted to shut up the army in Vicksburg with the force then under his command. But reinforcements soon found their way into the garrison of the beleaguered town, and their numbers became an element of weakness rather than of strength, as their rations were thereby more rapidly consumed, and the inevitable result proportionnally hastened. Thus it appears that the road to final success was one guess out of many, and that four wrong ways were tried before the only right one was "accidentally" perceived and adopted.

But having secured the key to the situation, General Grant thrust upon others the mightiest measure of responsibility, by leaving his lieutenants to hold the rebels in check, until he should be prepared to strike the decisive blow. In the execution of this scheme General Sherman had to amuse the enemy with the belief that the main body of the loyal army was acting with him, while making his "feint" upon Haines' Bluff. The garrison of this place was largely reinforced by General Pemberton, from the troops in front of General Grant, who had thus materially strengthened his own position by imperilling the position of his junior. The country owes nothing to General Grant that Sherman and his army were not sacrificed by this piece of strategy, and the tragedy of the twenty-ninth of December of the preceding year reënacted with an accumulation of horrors. To General Sherman, then, in spite of his disclaimer, as holding the most important and responsible position, on the maintainance of which depended the ultimate result of the new movement, and to General McPherson for his brilliant action at Champion Hills, belongs more than to any other actor in those scenes the honor of the capture of Vicksburg, and of "letting the Mississippi flow unvexed to the sea." General Grant, however, was the Commander-in-Chief, and according to the law of military compensation he must wear the laurels and absorb the rewards. Yet does the history of the siege and fall of Vicksburg prove that the Commander-in-Chief was really a military genius, or

only a lucky professional empiric? That the latter was the conclusion of the Administration about that time, is very clearly and distinctly enunciated in the fact that discouraged by delays and discomfitures, he had been ordered by the President to join his forces to those under General Banks, which would thenceforth give him a subordinate position. The place however was taken; another "accident," as General Sherman had predicted, had happened; and under the vigilant ministrations of an indefatigable "dry nurse" in Congress from Illinois, was constrained to appoint the so-called hero of Vicksburg a Lieutenant-General. Thenceforth the onward and upward path was clear and open before him; the conduct of the war had suddenly become one of the exact sciences; the record was made up and the books were sealed. All future successes by whomsoever nominally achieved must be solely attributed to the "masterly combinations" and "gigantic plans" of the Lieutenant-General; and every failure or disaster, though occurring under his eye and in his immediate presence, must be ascribed to the incapacity or disobedience of his subordinates. Every puff of smoke from his inevitable cigar became an emanation of military philosophy, and even his mysterious "reticence" was hailed as a new revelation of professional ability.

This faculty of reticence when judiciously nursed and cultivated is very often a prominent factor in the problem of human success. The late Lord Lytton has most happily illustrated its potency in his admirable and suggestive essay on the "Superior Man," a few sentences from which are so apt and pertinent that they deserve to be introduced into the present article, which they will serve to "point" and "adorn:"

"Princes, orators, authors yield to his mysterious ascendency. He imposes himself on gods and men, quiet and inexorable as the Necessity of the Greek poets. Why or wherefore the Olympians should take for *Grant*-ed* his right to the place he assumes we know not, we humbler mortals; but we yield where they yield —idle to contend against Necessity. * * * * * There are various secrets for that exaltation of mediocrity which is so felici-

* Was this the pun prophetic?

tously illustrated in the repute of the 'Superior Man.' *Perhaps the secret most efficacious is to be found in judicious parsimony of speech.* * * * * * * * * A certain nobleman some years ago was conspicuous for his success in the world. He had been employed in the highest situations, without one discernable reason for his election, and without justifying the selection by one proof of administrative ability. Yet at each appointment the public said, 'A great gain to the Government! Superior Man!' He was the most silent person I ever met. But when the first reasoners of the age would argue some knotty point in his presence, he would, from time to time, slightly elevate his eyebrows, gently shake his head, or by a dexterous smile of significant complacency, impress on you the notion, how easily he could set those babblers right, if he would but condescend to give voice to the wisdom within him."

If we except the thorough and undisguised contempt which he generally exhibited for the lives of his men, and his extraordinary indifference to the number of his killed and wounded — evidences of greatness according to the vulgar estimate, of which General Scott in his autobiography gives a striking example—beyond the qualities of pluck and perseverance without which no man can be a successful military leader but which in themselves contribute but little thereto, General Grant has not only never evinced the capacity of a master in the profession, but has rarely given evidence of soldierly ability above mediocrity. Nor is this at all surprising; for excluding the army regulations and his text-books at West Point, with the contents of which his academic "standing" shows that he was not too familiar, he has probably never read a military book in his life. His early studies, and his tastes, habits and associations, have indicated little affinity, with the higher aspirations of the profession of arms. It is not known whether the propriety of the offering was suggested by any particular exhibition of its necessity on his first visit to Boston in 1865, but it is an interesting fact that soon after that event several citizens proposed to present to General Grant a library of a few hundred volumes. He was requested to furnish a list of professional works already in his possession, in order that he might not receive duplicate copies. To this application it is understood that he replied with much gusto,

to the effect that he "never read military books, and cared not what might be sent." This was a "new thing" for the Yankee Athenians, at which they greatly marvelled, as they were thus left to conclude that the "greatest captain of the age" held in lofty scorn the idea that scholarly intelligence was necessary to soldiership, and that he regarded as a waste of time the study of the records and criticisms of the past battles and campaigns of the most renowned commanders. With artless and unaffected pride, he once boasted to General Meade that he "never manœuvred," from which it was naturally inferred that he looked upon that species of professional dexterity as only worthy of such tyros as Scott, Washington, or Napoleon.

The inability of General Grant to perceive the just relations between cause and effect, his deficiency in comprehension and his extremely defective judgment when left to himself, were singularly exemplified in his suggestion to render General Sherman's grand march from Atlanta to Savannah almost meaningless and barren of results, by transferring that General and his army from the latter place to Virginia by water, rather than by the route subsequently taken.

General Grant's course towards General George H. Thomas presents a phase in his character that his future biographer will perhaps gladly ignore, but which in justice to the dead must not be overlooked or forgotten. To those who ever knew him, the name of Thomas recalls the ideal soldier. He was the incarnation of courage, courtesy and chivalry. In person erect, grand and imposing, he bore in form and feature a striking resemblance to the popular conception and traditional idea of George Washington. Changing with the emotions, his eyes seemed to vary in color from steel grey to blue, soft and winning in repose, but lighted up with latent fire under the excitement of battle. Over his broad and massive brow the flaxen ringlets of his Welsh and Saxon ancestry waved in profusion, and before time had scattered its silver streaks, his face was covered with a full and flowing beard of similar hue. His shapely head was squarely set above a physical frame-work

of rare strength, vigor and symmetry, and the whole man in attitude and bearing gave evidence of stern and inflexible firmness, resolute will, and a reserved power to be measured only by the demand. The powers of his mind were admirably balanced; every faculty was rounded and complete, and each in due subordination to the others. As a student he was thorough and methodical, regular and uniform in his recitations, mastering each subject as he advanced, and making every new topic a solid basis for future acquisitions. He had a keen sense of the humorous, and his letters from the swamps of Florida during his first campaign were enlivened with odd pictorial conceits drawn from his experience among the Seminoles. The action of his mind was not rapid, like that of his class-mate Sherman, but though he reached his conclusions slowly, when once reached they required no revision. His first lessons in real war were taken under General Taylor, many of whose qualities as a commander could be recognized in the future hero of Nashville and Chickamauga. Like Taylor, Thomas never made a mistake. So sound was his judgment, and so clear were his military perceptions, that in reviewing the events of a battle or a campaign, there was nothing which under like circumstances could be improved. His fighting qualities were of the highest order, and most conspicuous as the tide of victory ebbed and flowed in a long and hotly contested engagement, and in the excitement and inspiration of a great battle with the odds against him. As a commander he had a quick eye for the minute details on which success may depend; he was fertile in resource, calm amid the shock of reeling battalions, intrepid and brilliant in example, when by such example, as that of Washington at Monmouth, or of Taylor at Buena Vista, he snatched victory from an exultant foe, and received in the baptism by fire, the new name of the "Rock of Chickamauga." For such a crisis of battle he had no rival in the federal army, and none on the other side save the imperial "Stonewall" Jackson.

By his rare example as a Virginian, for he "saw his duty clear from the beginning," in separating himself from home and kindred and from so many comrades in the army, General

Thomas from that time had the highest claim to special consideration. His services in the summer of 1861, under General Patterson, signalized his loyalty and devotion to an undivided Republic. It was he who after the ignoble defeat at Bull Run, first turned the adverse tide, and by his brilliant victory at Mill Spring over Generals Crittenden and Zollicoffer, gave to the Union cause its earliest military prestige. Again at Chickamauga, a battle fought against the earnest protests of Rosecrans, the General in command, under peremptory orders from Stanton and Halleck while viewing the situation from the calm security of their comfortable alcoves in Washington, and issued in ignorance or contempt of just military principles,—Thomas saved a routed army from annihilation, and prevented the States of Tennessee and Kentucky from being overrun by the rebels, and once more hitched to the "Confederacy." When General Sherman turned his face eastward from Atlanta, he left his armed and organized enemies behind him; and upon General Thomas, with such material as he might be able to collect from returned invalids, raw recruits, and skeleton regiments, was imposed the heavy work of confronting the second army in point of numbers of the rebel government, and which under General Johnston, had opposed Sherman from Chattanooga to Atlanta. Yet, notwithstanding all this evidence of his skill, patriotism and ability, and the able services he had rendered to the country from the dawn of the rebellion, General Grant actually determined to humiliate him by an order to relieve him from the command of the forces at Nashville, when he was about to win one of the most decisive victories of the war. In view of all the circumstances, the pretext for the order was as impudently preposterous as the order itself was flagrantly unjust. Because General Thomas had not the superhuman power to improvise within a few weeks a loyal army in the midst of traitors, capable of coping with the rebel veterans under General Hood, he was too slow: he was not fast enough to satisfy the impatient spirit and impetuous celerity of the Lieutenant-General who had been puffing his fragrant Havana, inactive and inert, about Richmond and Petersburg from June, 1864, to the following

Spring, although he had boastfully proclaimed that he would "fight it out" the preceding Summer.

It is one of the paradoxical weaknesses of human nature, to which we find it difficult to yield assent in spite of the evidence so often forced upon us, that men are rarely willing to forgive those whom they have injured. The command to forgive their enemies seems to be so strictly construed as to exclude all others not within that category. When General Grant became President and appointed Sherman his successor, the name of Thomas was on the lips of nearly the entire army, as the fittest man for Lieutenant-General. But General Grant as if remembering how grievously he had wronged that officer in the Nashville matter, was implacable and unforgiving. Hence the splendid merits and just claims of General Thomas were rudely ignored, and the honor conferred upon one who, though a brave soldier, was his junior by many years, and had certainly not rendered equal service to the country. The appointment could have added nothing to the fame of General Thomas, or brightened the glory of that chaplet of immortality which his own deeds had woven round his brow. But it would have been an act of graceful recognition of his tried patriotism and noble achievements, and as such would have been duly esteemed by the recipient. Time, however, awards that justice which envy or jealously inthroned in power seeks to withhold. When the sinister influences and blinding delusions of the present shall have disappeared, and truth shall have swept away the rubbish that now distorts or conceals so much of the history of the rebellion, the name of George H. Thomas, as the central star of a noble constellation, will illumine forever the heroic age of the Republic.

A comparison of the Military Academy at West Point with other educational institutions, would doubtless show that there, as elsewhere, the student who is distinguished among his comrades for learning and ability, almost invariably retains that preëminence in his future career. If knowledge or education of any kind has real value for the discipline or development of the mental powers, and if these are the recognized weapons for the warfare of life, this result,

is natural and legitimate; and when the exception occurs it must be regarded as abnormal, and to be accounted for from facts and circumstances which are independent of the ordinary relations of cause and effect. If the tendency and design of the studies at West Point are to educate young men as soldiers, those who are foremost in those studies by reason of genius and application, must make better soldiers than the idler or dullard, or the Academy fails in its object. The argument that technical or liberal education thus fails is an argument against education itself, and the school at West Point becomes a useless burden that should no longer be borne. But the history of the Military Academy supports no such absurdity. The young men who were distinguished as students have generally retained their superiority in the struggles of after life, whether in civil or military pursuits. The most prominent commanders in the southern army were those who gave most promises of future eminence when they were students. Generals Lee, Johnston, Bragg, Beauregard, Jackson, Whiting, and others, were far above mediocrity in scholarship at West Point, and some of them had added to the intellectual stores acquired there by professorships in State military institutions. The rule and qualification for appointment to high grades were different in the Union army, as the exigencies of the military service during the rebellion, as in the war with Mexico, were generally made subordinate to the necessities of politics. If certain unfortunate circumstances, not necessary to be here stated, had not compelled Captain Grant to relinquish his commission in the army, and thus given him that "Coigne of Vantage" for promotion—the position of a private citizen when the war commenced—it is probable that the end of the rebellion would have found him a respectable major of infantry.* General Grant passed through the Mexican war with no more distinction than scores of others, yet he had equal opportunities with those who achieved for themselves an enviable place in history. If we are rightly informed, he was then

* It will be remembered that most of those who were first appointed to high grades and commands, McClellan, Halleck, Hooker, Burnside, Rosecrans, etc., had previously resigned from the army.

a company-commander, and General Duncan, the hero of Palo Alto, was nothing more; yet Duncan's name is historic from the fine soldierly qualities displayed in his first battle and throughout the war, and is associated with the events of that struggle. If General Grant is a man above ordinary ability, and is in any degree a military genius, it is one of the most mysterious and marvellous things in history that the fact could have been so successfully concealed, or rather hermetically sealed, as it was throughout the period of his cadetship, the war with Mexico, and his subsequent service at Garrisons, up to July, 1854. Men may fail to evince before the world the greatness that is in them for want of opportunity, but no such plea can avail in this case, for here was "ample room and verge enough" for the development of the highest professional ability. When only a sergeant, Junot commended himself to his commander as no ordinary soldier, and began a career which made him a Marshal of France. In his first campaign, General Grant was older than was Washington at Braddock's defeat, and nearly the age of Napoleon when he commanded the army of Italy. When serving as an obscure clerk of a commercial company, Lord Clive displayed the most brilliant military qualities, and at the age of twenty-five saved the empire of the Indies to the British government, at the battle of Plassey. Desaix, the hero of Marengo, was a General of Division at twenty-eight; Saxe was a Marshal at twenty-four; Turenne commanded a regiment at nineteen, and four years later wielded the bâton of a Marshal. The great Condé filled Europe with his fame, won on the victorious field of Rocroi, at the age of twenty-two. Hoche — only inferior to Napoleon in the most brilliant constellation of military names—achieved a splendid reputation before he was twenty-four, and at twenty-five commanded the army of Moselle. When only nineteen, Charles XII of Sweden, at the head of eight thousand of his countrymen, defeated forty thousand Russians at Narva, and

"Left a name at which the world grew pale"

before he was thirty-eight. Wellington was esteemed a "lad of great promise" at the Anger's military school in France;

first served in an infantry regiment, and as a company officer when only twenty-five years old was "greatly distinguished," and gave repeated assurances of his future eminence. It was urged against that great minister, William Pitt, that he intrusted his military operations to incompetent officers, and his ready defence was that he had no alternative; none others were to be had. But, subsequently, in an interview of twenty-five or thirty minutes with Captain Arthur Wellesley—then a young man unknown to fame—he at once perceived his extraordinary merits, predicted his future distinction, and ordered him to India. On his voyage thither the library of the young soldier consisted wholly of the Bible and *Cæsar's Commentaries;* but these he "studied diligently," and thus further qualified himself for that career which made him Field-Marshal, Duke of Wellington and conqueror of Napoleon.

And this meeting between the British Premier and the future Generalissimo, recalls another that occurred at Springfield, Illinois, in the early summer of 1861. General Grant had gone to the State capital with credentials from Mr. Washburne, seeking an appointment of some sort from Governor Yates. He obtained an interview without delay, but was compelled to dance attendance on the Governor week after week, without at all impressing that functionary with an idea of his transcendent abilities. Indeed, it is understood that the future General and President, tired of appearing in the character of a military Micawber, and wearied with hope deferred, was on the point of returning to the malarial quiet of Galena, when a vacancy occurred in the Colonelcy of the 21st Illinois Volunteers, to which Governor Yates reluctantly appointed him. If it should be objected, in explanation of the different results of these interviews, that there is a wide interval between the genius and sagacity of Pitt and the intellectual powers of Yates, it may be replied that Governor Yates was a man of quick perceptions and that it is at least quite possible that something of a difference might have appeared on the two occasions between Captain Wellesley and Captain Grant.

The secret of General Grant's capacity seems also to have

been remarkably well kept at West Point. It is certainly difficult if not impossible to conceive that any one however "reticent," or possessing talent however latent, could have so long kept it hidden in a napkin, and have passed through the ordeal of intimacies and rivalries of four years' duration, in close and constant contact with boys and men in the recitation room, without evidencing in some direct, remote or accidental way, some gleam of intellectual brightness, one spark or scintillation of genius. The only fact in his cadet life which a distinguished politician and enthusiastic admirer could discover in his archæological researches, was that the military neophyte mistook the cenotaph to Kosciusko as a monument over the grave of that illustrious patriot, and thence wrote to his father that it stood in the Cadets' burying-ground.*

No fact is more clearly established than that Cadet Grant left the Military Academy with no distinctive reputation whatever; that he showed no special aptitude for, or gained the least distinction in any one of the studies pursued there, mathematical, moral or military; and it may perhaps be affirmed that his name never once occurred to a Professor or comrade as one at all likely to become eminent, until the fortuitous circumstances of the rebellion drew it from obscurity. This was not the case with General Sherman. All who knew him at West Point were impressed with the versatility of his talents, and the clearness and comprehensiveness of his perceptions. This was the case with Napoleon, whose renown was foreshadowed at Brienne as positively and distinctly as it was in the trenches of Toulon, on the bridge at Lode, or amid the dikes of Arcola.

It thus appears that in the history of the rebellion, and in the history in detail of General Grant's campaigns and battles, the impartial and unprejudiced students must look in vain for any positive manifestations of what in the history of other eminent commanders are regarded as the highest qualities of a great General. Fortunately, however, for history and for the art of war as expounded and illustrated by him, he has fur-

* Senator Conkling's speech in New York in 1872.

nished more than one example which amounts to a demonstration of his want of capacity as the head of an army. Without reference to Fort Henry, when his marked inefficiency enabled General Tilghman and his force of over three thousand rebels to escape, after their "unconditional surrender"—the phrase belongs to Admiral Foote—the battle of Belmont affords a fair standard, and perhaps the best standard we have, for the measurement of his professional abilities. And here it is only just to take the facts and circumstances as they were understood and received at the time, and not as they may now be received through the distortions of interested admirers and the glamour which subsequent events may have thrown around them. In that disastrous engagement General Grant was not assisted by the presence and counsel, or the skill, ability and experience of Sherman, the two Smiths, Thomas, McPherson, Meade or Sheridan, and others who might be named, but had to rely for guidance and support upon his own unaided resources. The battle was one for which he was exclusively responsible. The time and place were selected by him; he had the usual means of knowing what force he would probably encounter, and he knew that the rebels on the opposite side of the river could furnish instant reinforcements should their friends require them. He thus sought to solve a problem in which the unknown quantity lay upon the surface; he entered upon the combat with as much deliberation and forethought as he was capable of exercising, and it is to be presumed he brought all his faculties into activity. He found himself suddenly confronted by what appeared a strangely unexpected peril; but a really great commander thrown thus suddenly upon his own resources, would have risen with the occasion, and borne himself not merely with courage, but with calmness, fortitude and decision. What was the conduct of General Grant? He fought gallantly, but wildly and recklessly; he was repulsed with fearful slaughter; driven from the field in confusion and disorder, and even failed to bring off the remnant of his command with ordinary military skill. According to the testimony of an eye-witness, the retreat was a sort of *sauve qui peut* move-

ment, one regiment only, under the cool and judicious control of a Colonel who had not lost his head, having made a creditable retreat to Cairo. To indicate the real feeling at the time, we quote from the Congressional *Globe* of May 9, 1862, in which one of the Senators from Iowa is reported as using the following language, viz.: "At Belmont he [General Grant] committed an egregious and unpardonable military blunder, which resulted in almost annihilating an Iowa regiment. * * * * * There is nothing in his antecedents to justify a further trial of his military skill. And he shall not with my consent be continued in command." The affair at Belmont, so prominently characterized by rashness, folly and imprudence, was only less disastrous than the tragedy at Ball's Bluff, which occurred a few days previously. The smoke and excitement consequent on the latter had not yet subsided, and served very opportunely to conceal the extent of the western catastrophe, and to divert public attention from Belmont; and by such diversion probably saved the military career of General Grant from coming to a sudden and inglorious close. The Missouri disaster, moreover, failed to make the same impression upon the country as the other calamity had done because of its remoteness from Washington, and because no such distinguished citizen or soldier as Senator Baker was among its victims. It excited no ire from the Administration because four Illinois regiments, commanded by four Illinois Colonels, most of whom had been prominent Illinois politicians, were engaged in it.

In this affair at Belmont, we are able to discover the prominent qualities of Grant's soldiership. There was an animated display of courage and lack of judgment singularly blended, and as striking an exhibition of his very low estimate of the value of a soldier's life, as was possible with the smallness of his force and the limited duration of the conflict. The battle was fought without any adequate motive, as no decisive or permanent advantage was to be obtained by dislodging the rebels from a position on one side of the river, when they occupied a much stronger one on the opposite bank. And as the engagement was brought on without cause — one has since

been discovered, but it is probably altogether apocryphal — it ended without result save the useless slaughter of several hundred men.

The key to the entire military career of General Grant is found in his declaration to General Meade that he "never manœuvred." The most potent element of popularity and sometimes of success in war is novelty; and when novelty fails to secure success, popularity may reward the inventor. Fabius Maximus, Gustavus Adolphus, Frederic the Great, Napoleon, each secured his triumphs by new methods in manœuvring, or fighting by a new system of tactics, or a new development in strategy. In emulation of these great names General Grant presents his invention, the "non-manœuvring system." Whether its inherent simplicity, or whatever other merits it may claim, shall give it a permanent place in the recognized principles of military science, may be left as an open question to the Field Marshals of the future. The principle as announced by the inventor only emphasizes the fact that brute force in his system of warfare becomes the substitute for genius in other commanders. Instead of employing the ordinary enginery of the profession, practised ever since the formation of the phalanx, by which a smaller force may be made more than a match for a larger one, or disparity of positions equalized, or the enemy deceived as to one's numbers and purposes, or the loss of life and supplies reduced to a minimum, or the hundred other results to be obtained thereby, the foundation principle of General Grant's soldiership and the whole superstructure erected thereon, consists in hurling at random large masses of men against the enemy, and relying upon superior masses in reserve for ultimate success. With such a principle of action it is evident that ability is secondary to the command of an army, and the political rule of appointment becomes as satisfactory as any other, for every brigade or division commander will be found equal to such a task. Nay, more: the village statesman who is the oracle of his little circle, or the brawling demagogue who controls the lower strata of the lowest wards of the city, has capacity enough to lead his followers to any work of destruction, and to accomplish it if supplied

with adequate means. No one can discover any underlying principle other than this avowed by himself, in General Grant's operations from Belmont to Appomattox Court-house; and if the science of war consists in this last analysis of General Grant, there has been no military progress since Palamedes posted his first sentinels outside the walls of Troy.

There seems to be a general concurrence of opinion that the administration of President Grant, by its intellectual weakness and undisguised corruption, has obtained an eminence which none hereafter will seek to emulate. The immense revenues derived from a burdensome system of taxation, but borne by the people with heroic fortitude, made a large reduction of the public debt easy, and it is creditable, that the opportunity thus offered of presenting a rare example to other governments, was rightfully improved. His general financial policy was sound; and perhaps the act of General Grant's civil administration which will be most favorably remembered, was the veto of the Inflation Act of 1874: by withholding his approval the President saved the country from a multiplication of disasters, involving public honor as well as private credit. The Civil Service Reform which was promised with an immense flourish of party trumpets, died ignominiously in the nursery of its parents, and its history proved too clearly that there was neither honesty nor sincerity in the professions which had been so loud and frequent. The Indian peace policy, though founded in justice and humanity, was destined to a similar fate. Its execution was nominally intrusted to the agents of the churches having missionaries among the Indians, but in the work of civilization the Bible of the Christian seems to have alternated with the breech-loader of the soldier. Conceding a few instances of statesmanship, there was yet hardly virtue enough in General Grant's administration to redeem it from just condemnation, or ability enough to make it a negative example for the instruction of posterity. That as a whole it was a melancholy failure, few can have the hardihood to deny. Those who had studied the character and career of General Grant with a view to the formation of a correct judgment in reference to his capacity for civil affairs, were able to predict the consequences of

intrusting to him the administration of the Federal Government. He had made several experiments in civil life, during the period of his separation from the army, from 1854 to 1861, and was not eminently successful in any of them. And it is well-known that throughout this period of seven years, though the napkin of General Grant's talents was severely and vigorously shaken, no one ever had any reason even to suspect that there was any special value in the contents. The wonderful latent ability that subsequently loomed up as we are assured with such astonishing proportions, was as thoroughly buried out of sight as Sodom and Gomorrah. The following passage is taken from a letter dated October 22, 1866, and may be quoted as a striking piece of political prophecy, from one who had known General Grant for the preceding quarter of a century:

"This report also suggests painful apprehensions and anxious solicitude for the future, as it furnishes such an amplitude of testimony that if General Grant should be placed in the high position to which his admirers are forcing him, he will become the mere creature of corrupt and crafty politicians, and a helpless if not willing instrument in their hands for the accomplishment of party schemes, however unworthy and destructive to the best interests of the country."

The want of that degree of general intelligence which the average educated American possesses, and a strange ignorance of the functions of an independent and upright judiciary were humiliatingly disclosed by General Grant, in his indorsement on General Lee's application for pardon. In that paper there was an unconscious exhibition of his thorough confusion of ideas in reference to the duties of attorneys and judges, by a grave recommendation that a certain judge be "instructed" as to his duties on the bench. It is a modest claim for the general intelligence of the American people, to assert that among the educated classes it would be difficult to find such profound ignorance of the nature and constitution of the judiciary and its relations to the other branches of the government. But General Grant at that time was not D. C. L. Oxon.! This conspicuous precedent, however, may not be without its

value, as since that time the country has had a similar display of army intelligence in the idea that a general order or Presidential proclamation may outlaw a State and make its citizens banditti.

The first official act of President Grant, in the selection of the heads of the chief executive departments, indicated his peculiar views of the functions of his office, and the principle on which he proposed to administer the government. In his judgement as thus avowed, the highest qualification for a member of his Cabinet consisted in personal devotion, as testified by liberal donations or testimonials to himself. These qualifications for the first time in our history, were to be received as substitutes for familiarity with public affairs, mature political experience, conspicuous ability, and high personal character. The problem of determining by actual experiment the minimum amount of ability with which the duties of the various departments could be performed, was fully if not satisfactorily solved. The result has not been flattering to the inventor, and may be seen in a proud and patriotic party with a noble record of grand achievements, rent asunder and severed into fragments, with many of its founders and leaders driven into antagonism, the entire country demoralized, and the very structure of the government brought into imminent peril. There was hardly a name in this political puddingstone of 1869—Burke's "mosaic" was artistic compared with this combination—recognized by the country as having fitness or affinity for the duties to be performed, and as Junius declared of Lord North and his associates in the ministry, nearly all the names of General Grant's cabinet officers from 1869 to 1877, "form a satire upon all government."

The language of sycophantic adulation of which General Grant was the subject from the close of the war to his inauguration, might well have unhinged a mind already jostled from its orbit by a strange and unexpected elevation, while his defective education and the previous habits of his life had not tended to familiarize him with our political history, or to give him other than very crude and erroneous views of the charac-

ters of those who had preceded him in his high office. That the Presidency, therefore, derived its chief importance from the salary, was a personal emolument and not a public trust to be administered in the public interest, a convenient place for the promotion of family and favorites, and incidentally perhaps, to perform certain routine duties by way of relaxation from the more severe and onerous service of ministering to avarice and greed, was under the peculiar experience described, not altogether a wild and illogical conclusion. It was hardly possible with his total ignorance of affairs, as he manfully confesses in his last message, and of the past history of the country, that he should have had a proper conception either of the dignity of his office or of its duties. Our earlier Presidents shrunk from the appointment of members of their own families to office, as if it were a misdemeanor. Under the administration of General Grant, nepotism was for the first time in our history reduced to a system; as if the highest claims to office were founded on certain personal or adventitious relation to the appointing power. In its magical versatility of revealing to an unsuspecting public the numbers and capacities of the family, his inauguration was like the whistle of Roderick Dhu to the startled Fitz James, when

> "Wild as the scream of the curlieu
> From crag to crag, the signal flew:
> On right, on left, above, below,
> Spring up at once the lurking foe."

Like armed men from the teeth of Cadmus, brothers and brothers-in-law, sons and nephews, uncles and cousins, were found ready and eager to become foreign ministers, marshals, collectors, sutlers, army pay-masters, army contractors. There was nothing too high for their aspirations, there was nothing too low for their reverence and acceptance provided it would pay. From one year to another the whole country saw with profound astonishment, the members of the family, lineal or collateral, fastened upon the public treasury, through all latitudes from the waters of the Gulf to the Baltic, and from Chicago to Copenhagen. No segment was wanting to complete the domestic circle, from the beardless second-lieutenant—who it is

understood would have left the Military Academy by the back door but for the influence of ancestry—hoisted *per saltum* into the grade and pay of lieutenant-colonel, which most officers are glad to reach after twenty-five years of faithful service, onward through all gradations, civil, political or mixed, to the contingent remainder at the court of Denmark. According to the sliding scale adopted for the distribution of places, after due provision was made for the immediate household, the next qualification for office was active participation in the presentation of a testimonial in money, real estate, or in some other tangible form, and thence through a descending series until it might be regarded as a concession that varied experience, spotless character and eminent ability—should not be positive disqualifications. But without dignity of mind or elevation of character in himself, no one can readily perceive or suspect the existence of these qualities in others, or their real value in the commerce of life, in private or public station.

Under the new system there was hardly a department of the government in which sooner or later there was not a grave suspicion of dishonesty and corruption, which investigation seldom failed to resolve into fact. Towards the close of his administration the public mind became so accustomed to revelations of venality and peculation, of trading in offices and appointments, and making the "usufruct" as Mr. Tilden might say, of official station, private enrichment and not public benefit, that the torpor of indifference gradually supervened, and a fresh discovery of official knavery scarcely created a ripple on the surface of politics, or disturbed the equanimity of the public mind. As the head of the government, General Grant early taught the people to look for little less than incapacity or at best mediocrity in his favorite counsellors; and the lesson was soon added that any expectation of integrity united with capacity was quite unreasonable, or in the vernacular of Dogberry, was "most tolerable and not to be endured."

In his relations to the army, General Grant was equally regardless of the dictates of justice, the claims of service, and the honest pride and sensitive honor of the profession. The law gives to the President certain appointments "at large" to

the Military Academy, for bestowal upon the sons of deserving officers of the army and navy. In executing this trust he insulted the memory of every man who died for the Union, as if seeking to propagate a race of traitors, by awarding cadetship to the sons of northern men, who in spite of their northern education of national allegiance, left the army and aided and abetted the rebellion. We have already referred to his treatment of General Thomas. In the case of other vacancies he manifested a similar spirit of contempt for the just obligations of his position. Superior fitness and capacity, tried loyalty and devotion; the recognition of long and faithful service; the *esprit de corps* which constitutes the vital principle of a sound military organization; all these were more than once sacrificed to the pretensions of favorites, to the supple and sycophantic aspirant who found an easy mode for compensating for want of duty to the country in the field in the hour of trial, by superserviceable activity in behalf of the exigencies and necessities of the administration of Secretary Belknap, and by invoking the aid of that nepotal principle, which, whether direct or collateral, was always potential. Junius finely observes that "Injuries may be atoned for and forgiven; but insults admit of no compensation. They degrade the mind in its own esteem, and force it to recover its level by revenge." No extent of personal wrong however, no measure of official injustice will swerve the conscientious American officer from the faithful discharge of his duty. Yet in every heart there is a desire for advancement, a thirst for professional distinction and the recognition of professional merit; a systematic policy that tends to suppress or subdue this sentiment, to destroy this motive and incentive to patriotic zeal and lofty effort, if not fatal to the well-being, is at least opposed to the best and highest interests of the army and the country. The soldier's pride, his sense of self-respect, the traditional glory of the profession which one would think a soldier would have studiously cared for, were often ignored or contemptuously trampled upon, and the army, in the persons of some of its worthiest members, was subjected to humiliations without a parallel in any previous administration.

Many who advocated General Grant's election to the Presidency, and have since seen their folly and been mortified by the failure which has so signally shown their ignorance of his character and capacity, seek to justify themselves by renewing the old delusion concerning his services as a soldier, and his having led our armies to victory. But we think it has been fully demonstrated that these views have no real foundation, and that further effort to bolster up the pretensions and declining fortunes of such a hero, must prove abortive. It is a confession of judgment against himself, but not accompanied by due evidence of penitence; it is a piteous appeal for forgiveness without fruits meet for repentance; it is the cry of Macbeth: "Thou canst not say I did it," in anticipation of the judgment of posterity upon his conduct as a public servant, and more appalling than the ghost of Banquo to the guilty King. In the alienation from his party of so many men who voted for the illustrious Lincoln and for himself, and who stood round his administration, until charity and forbearance were shamed into desertion, he has found a presentment of the verdict of the future; and hence this lugubrious and pathetic appeal, which provokes our pity in spite of the contempt it otherwise inspires.

There is probably no example in history of a really great soldier who was not, if the duty devolved upon him, also successful in the administration of civil affairs. The names of Cromwell, Frederic and Napoleon will at once occur to the reader, and less conspicuously perhaps those of Gustavus Adolphus and Lord Clive. After the fall of Napoleon, Wellington exercised supreme power on the Continent for several years as civilian and soldier, and by his consummate wisdom and discretion won the respect and gratitude of all those over whom his control extended. Even the burdens of the French people, imposed by the treaty of Paris, were lightened by his prudence and sagacity as a statesman. For twenty-five years the Iron Duke exercised an indisputed ascendency in the House of Lords; and in all points of civil administration, such was the soundness of his judgment and the strength of his understanding, that his opinions were ever received with de-

ference and acted upon with confidence. In our own history we have examples not less illustrious and conclusive. The administration of Washington was characterized by wisdom, firmness, integrity and statesmanship, and was a model for all his successors, though he was without previous political training. With few advantages of education the early life of Andrew Jackson was passed in poverty and in the hardships and privations of a frontier home. His abilities as a soldier first made him conspicuous, but his administration was one of the most successful in our annals. General Scott gave to Mexico a better government than that unfortunate country ever had before or since his occupation of its Capital. The late Senator Benton of Missouri, in his *Thirty Years' View*, says of General Taylor: "His brief career showed no deficiency of political wisdom for want of previous political training. He came into the administration at a time of great difficulty, and acted up to the emergency of his position." The intelligence and capacity for the organization and command of armies, and for leading them to victory, include the intelligence to discharge creditably civil duties of the highest character and responsibility. Failure in the latter is decisive evidence of deficiency in the former. The evidence of such deficiency thus becomes negative as well as positive, and the conclusion the same and equally certain from either.

Thrown to the surface in a violent convulsion of the state, and by a fortuitous combination of circumstances; placed in a position ordinarily attained only by worth and ability; aided and supported by the best military talent and by the vast resources of the United States, General Grant rose as the means and resources of the rebel power declined. Holding the highest military rank when that power was overthrown, he inherited according to the law of the military hierarchy and the tendency of the human mind not to analyze successful results, the honors, the rewards and the gratitude of the people. Left to himself in the Presidency, and unaided by the able and faithful lieutenants who had won for him his triumphs, we have seen his sudden decline and fall. The elevation of so weak a man to the highest place in the government of a

great nation stands out as a most astounding mystery; and while it must be admitted to be a tremendous anomaly, it is yet not wholly without precedent in fierce political agitations, and in the shipwreck of states and nations. The strange anomaly is thus not the first in history. Within the memory of men now living, a private soldier without family, ability or intelligence above mediocrity, became prime minister of one of the proudest monarchies in the world, and before his inglorious fall, acquired a formidable influence in the affairs of a Continent.

ART. II.—1. *The New Doomsday-Book.* London. 1876.

2. *History of the Middle Ages.* 3 volumes. By HENRY HALLAM, LL.D. New edition. London. 1872.

3. *History of England.* By DAVID HUME. London. 1852.

4. *History of Russia from the Foundation of the Empire, by Rourick, to the Close of the Hungarian War.* 2 volumes. By ALPHONSE RABBE and JONATHAN DUNCAN, B. A. London. 1854.

5. *History of the English Poor Law.* By SIR GEORGE NICHOLS, K. C. B. London. 1854.

CASTE, in its most odious form, has never existed in Europe. That which for centuries has been the pride of all the western peoples is the distinction of class; and this distinction at one time became almost as odious among European as among certain Asiatic nations. Relics of it may still be observed in the love of insignia, crests, titles, literary degrees, and in the social customs of every European nation on the occasion of social gatherings, court receptions, public dinners, etc.

The love of power is the dominant passion of primitive man. To rule, possess, govern, command, is an impulse which ranks in priority the development of the virtues, kindness, generosity, honor, justice, etc. The latter elements are subordinate and rarely manifested in the conduct of a man, or a people, until the lower demands of self are satiated and the lust of gain and glory satisfied. Individuals there may be who have passed through these phases of development and who, like Solomon of old, are ready to pronounce the verdict of vanity on the allurements of power and prestige, and to whom

the love of duty and obligation is the stronger emotion. But such a mental condition is rare among men and still rarer among nations. In all the western nations, at least, the love of power and position and the things that lead to their attainment is the predominating characteristic. In the struggle to gratify this love and to achieve the supreme objects of it, chief among which are wealth, position and power, considerations of humanity, of brotherly love and natural right, have been unscrupulously overborne, and Might has been the Right most commonly recognized. The result has very naturally been the development of a ruling caste or class, in which has centred the political power and prestige of the nations; the enslavement or subordination of the weaker or humbler sort, and the establishment of laws and constitutions to perpetuate power in the hands of a few—the landed class—who have generally been found not incapable of using it not wisely, but too well.

This has been the course of society from the earliest times of which history furnishes any information. If we go back to Feudal times for examples we shall find many of signal pertinency to our subject. The most modern illustration of that system of government on a large scale, which history affords, is Russia. Living a simple, pastoral life, cultivating the earth and the arts of peace, the Russian people continued for centuries in the free possession of the soil they tilled and lived upon, and the enjoyment of such a degree of freedom as was consistent with a patriarchal form of society. Peace prevailed, if not plenty, and mendicity was unknown. Then at last came evil days, and the simple customs, habits, and crude privileges of the people underwent a radical change. This was rendered necessary as a means of protection against the encroachments of warlike tribes, to repel which they were compelled to abandon the simple, patriarchal system of their fathers, and assume that which was fast dying out in Europe, viz.: the Feudal System. This revolution was effected early in the sixteenth century. The chief instrument of it has been immortalized under the name of Boris Godounof. The change from a peaceful, pastoral life, to one of strife, war, reprisals

and rapine, developed the usual results—rival factions and powerful chieftains, civil and military, between whom the people and all their possessions were freely distributed. The land, the common mother and rightful heritage of all, now became the exclusive property of those whose might in strife proved them equal to its possession. Life estates were established at first by force and afterwards by law, for the benefit of those who had especially distinguished themselves in the service of their country. Thus, in brief, was laid the foundation for the growth of a nobility and a privileged class, which has proved so disastrous to the progress and civilization of the Russian masses. The owners of the soil were freemen; the tillers of the soil were vassals—in accordance with the invariable course of society when animated by the sole impulse of acquisition. Under these circumstances came the powerful chieftain and "statesman" Godounof, to whom we have just referred, and boldly reduced those who hitherto had been vassals, to a condition closely allied to slavery. He decreed, "That the servants of nobles, who worked by contract, should not be allowed to quit their masters; and the masters were prohibited from dismissing their servants who had lived with them for a certain period. By this second law, multitudes of freemen became serfs without knowing it." *

Thus was laid the foundation of that system of landed tenure in Russia, which existed prior to the emancipation of 1861; and such was the condition of Russian society at the time when the great land "Reformer," Peter the Great, made his entrée in Europe early in the seventeenth century. What had latterly been a life estate, that monarch made hereditary; and people who had hitherto been servants, and as free, perhaps, as ignorance and superstition would permit them to be, now became slaves, they and their children and children's children, for time indefinite. Peter the Great did but rivet the chains which Godounof had so skilfully forged, and in this act he per-

* *History of Russia from the Foundation of the Empire, by Rourick, to the Close of the Hungarian War.* By Alphonse Rabbe and Jonathan Duncan, B. A. Vol. II, p. 267. London. 1854.

petrated a crime against his kind as atrocious in conception and magnitude as any that history records. In 1845, nearly the whole of the cultivated territory of Russia was held by a few thousand nobles, and with it also the men, women and children, and other animals, that were permitted to drudge upon it—slaves as abject and absolute as a Louisiana negro before the late Rebellion in America—numbering, exclusive of beast cattle, about twenty-four millions of souls, or rather *serfs;* for their souls, if any they ever had, were long since crushed to death beneath the iron heel of a selfishness, as base and demoniacal in organization and conception, as the arch-enemy of mankind could possibly devise. *

This is the natural, inevitable course of society under the Feudal system. And it is by no means an exceptional instance of wrong against the commonalty. At an earlier period similar crimes in the name of God and statesmanship were perpetrated in England and France, and in fact, everywhere else in Europe. The land was possessed by a few military chieftains or barons and held by the right of might; and, as must needs follow, the tillers of it were either slaves or vassals. The rest of the community was a restless, discontented, agitating class, not disposed peaceably to acquiesce in the forced order of things,—Radicals, in other words, to be treated as enemies of society—outlaws, hunted down, imprisoned, or shot at sight.

What Peter the Great did in Russia, Charlemagne in France, William of Normandy and his mail-dressed adventurers did in England. Having taken forcible possession of the Island, he proceeded to divide it for the most part into baronies, and apportion it among his foreign adventurers and native adherents. "The whole kingdom," says Hume, "contained about seven hundred chief tenants,

* "Peter the Great completed what Godounof had left unfinished, by making estates hereditary, as well as by reducing the peasants to serfdom."—Rabbe's *History of Russia*, p. 271.—Notwithstanding the pretensions of this renowned Czar as a land reformer, these authors properly characterize his conduct in respect of the rights of the common people, "as a most atrocious crime, far outweighing any service he may have rendered to civilization."

and sixty thousand two hundred and fifteen knights fees." *

Some of these grants were enormous. His Majesty's sister's son, Hugh de Abrincis, for example, received the whole county of Chester; Odo, bishop of Baieux, had four hundred and thirty-nine manors and lordships; Robert, Earl of Montaigne, nine hundred and seventy-three; Geoffrey, bishop of Coutance, two hundred and eighty; and so on down to much smaller grants. These Feudal grants were at first life estates; but "it was found that a man would more willingly expose himself in battle, if assured that his family should inherit his possessions. Hence fiefs were made hereditary in families, and descended, during an age, to the son, then to the grandson, next to the brothers; afterwards to more distant relations." † Thus arose the present system of landed tenure in England.

Since William the Conqueror's time, the status of ownership of land in England has changed very much for the better, but it is still bad enough. While the number of land-owners has largely increased, three hundred and thirty-three peers still have possession of one-sixth of England. Some of their estates number nearly two hundred thousand acres. The incomes derived from them we will not attempt to enumerate. Moreover, more than half of the rateable land of England is owned by less than five thousand persons—the gentry; the rest of the land is distributed among rather more than seven hundred and forty thousand freeholders, though more than seven-eighths of these own less than an acre each; or, to be exact, seven hundred and three thousand, two hundred and eighty-nine persons together own one hundred and forty-nine thousand, one hundred and two acres, being a little less than one-half of one per cent. of the soil of England. The toiling millions that remain own nothing.

For greater clearness of apprehension of the landed situation in England let us briefly recapitulate and enlarge upon the chief facts:

Total population, ...	20,000,000
Total acreage, ...	33,000,000

* *History of England*, Vol. I, p. 195. † Ibid, p. 442.

Half of the soil owned by about				4,500	persons.
Fourth	do.	do.	do.	710	do.
Sixth	do.	do.	do.	333	do.
Twentieth	do.	do.	public bodies and corporations.		
Number of small land-owners, ...					703,289
Number of acres owned by them, ...					149,000
Total number of land-owners, about					743,000
Total number of non-land-owners, ...					19,257,000

These estimates, be it observed, are based on figures given in the *New Doomsday-Book*, and are approximately correct. What a strange anomaly do they present! Here is a colossal pyramid standing on its apex, maintained in its singular position by the untiring efforts of a few statesmen especially trained for the purpose. How long the genius of a few English statesmen will be able to maintain this social wonder, with its inverted base continually enlarging, is a question not to be easily answered. What a different and a more pleasing spectacle would England present did the 710,000 individuals who now own a small fraction of an acre each, own the bulk of all England? What a different and still more pleasing spectacle would she present were the entire population—20,000,000 in number—in possession of an acre and a half each, leaving the remaining 3,000,000 acres for the use of public bodies and corporations, railroads, and others? A very different order of things must be inaugurated in England ere such a spectacle shall be possible. But a social change approximating this must come ere the social pyramid shall rest securely upon its base, and in need of no special interposition, either human or divine, to give it permanence on the earth.

The distribution of the soil of Scotland is still less favorable to the masses of her people. Thus the half of Scotland is held by about seventy — persons, we will not say — owners; though in area she has more than half the territory of her neighbor. And still further, "more than nine-tenths of Scotland belong to less than seventeen hundred owners." Some of her nobility hold immense estates from which they derive princely revenues. Thus, the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland hold one million three hundred and twenty-six thousand acres; the Duke of Buccleuch, four hun-

dred and thirty-one thousand acres; Sir James Mattheson, four hundred and twenty-four thousand acres; the Earl of Broadalbane, three hundred and seventy-three thousand acres; the Earl of Seafield, three hundred and six thousand acres, etc. These will serve as examples. All these estates, both in England and Scotland, be it remembered, are hereditary and can neither be bought nor given away out of the family. They are notable, not to say infamous, mementoes of feudalism which no power less than that of a Czar can destroy. Surely these countries need a Land Reformer of sagacity and power equal to that of any Russian emperor ere this injustice shall be done away, and the people possess the soil they till and live upon.

The Spectator (London, March 4, 1876), publishes a list of what it calls "The Territorial Aristocracy of England," which comprises the names, acreages and yearly rental of seven hundred and ten persons previously referred to, owning more than five thousand acres each. The list is of exceeding interest—from more than one point of view. The most prominent fact brought to light by it is that which we have already referred to, viz.: That these seven hundred and ten landed gentlemen *own more than one-fourth of the soil of England;* the second and most serious fact is the influence these few individuals have upon English legislation and upon English destiny. *The Spectator*, while fully comprehending the magnitude of the danger of having in so concentrated a form so much political influence, sees no practical way out of it. It says: "It could be altered by recurrent confiscations—that is, by abolishing the Eighth Commandment because it made some men too comfortable. It could be altered by an *impôt progressif* upon land—that is, by a breach of the national faith, which commands that the taxation shall have revenue, and not the pillage of a class, for its end. And it could be altered by an abolition of the freedom of bequest, which would completely revolutionize the condition, not only of English society, but of every family within it, and for which the people, as a whole, are utterly unprepared." It occurs to us that any one of these methods is feasible. Should

an obvious injustice be perpetuated in deference to the Eighth Commandment? And what right has a nation to wrongfully pledge the faith of its future? Or to keep a faith founded upon fraud and which practically dooms a large majority of its children to physical and moral serfdom? We make bold to predict that unless the governors of Great Britain devise some way to increase their "Territorial Aristocracy,"—to open their "private" estates to the public for public use and possession—the public will do it for them in open defiance of rusty precepts and antiquated pledges, either of which it has become a wrong against the commonalty to obey or fulfil.

The late Harriet Martineau, the prophetic quality of whose political vision events only too well attest, entertained by no means a dissimilar view. "From the natural alliance between king and people," she writes, "and the natural antagonism of aristocracy and people, the occurrence of a revolution is always, in such a case, a question merely of time. In our case, the question of time is less obscure than it was in my childhood."* And again she writes: "But all that I feel called on to say now, when I am not writing a political essay is, that the leading feature of any such radical [social] change must be a deep modification of the institution of property;—certainly in regard to land, and probably to much else. * * * The old practice of man holding man as property is nearly exploded among civilized nations; and the analogous barbarism of man holding the surface of the globe as property cannot long survive. The idea of this being a barbarism is now fairly formed, admitted, and established among some of the best minds of the time; and the result is, as in all such cases, ultimately secured."† This was written in 1855. When the people, conscious of the wrong under which they suffer and the knowledge of their rights, cry out in despair for justice though the heavens fall, the heavens are very likely to fall unless justice is done.

Be that as it may, these were the elements and influences which shaped the constitution of society, made laws, established

* *Autobiography*, Vol. II, p. 115. † *Ibid.*, p. 119.

customs and moulded public opinion throughout Europe. The social value of a man was largely determined by the cunning of his mind and the prowess of his arm; his social *status* was fixed for him by inexorable custom. Hallam quotes *Coûtumes de Beauvois* of Beaumanoir, who says: "There are three conditions of men in this world; the first is that of gentlemen; and the second is that of such as are naturally free, being born of a free mother. All who have a right to be called gentlemen are free, but all who are free are not gentlemen. Gentility comes by the father, and not by the mother; but freedom is derived from the mother only; and whoever is born of a free mother is himself free, and has free power to do anything that is lawful. The third estate of men is that of such as are not free; and these are not all of one condition, for some are so subject to their lord that he may take all they have, alive or dead, and imprison them whenever he pleases, being accountable to none but God; while others are treated more gently, from whom the lord can take nothing but customary payments, though at their death all they have escheats to him." * These were the villeins, comprising the lowest grade of laborers in the fifteenth century. But among the French, in feudal times, social distinctions were more numerous and complicated. Laurière gives the following scale of ranks: "Duc est la première dignité; puis comte; puis vicomte; et puis baron; et puis châtelain; et puis vavasseur; et puis citoyen; et puis villein." †

These scales of social ranks or distinctions the lapse of four centuries has but slightly modified in Europe. The villein, it is true, has disappeared—made way for the common laborer; employer has taken the place of master; workman that of servant. But the condition of subjection and even of servitude practically remains. The laborer cannot be bought and sold; imprisoned for debt, absence from his task, or for breach of contract; flogged for impudence or contempt as he formerly was. This is evidence of change no doubt. If his baron

---

* *Middle Ages*, Vol. I, p. 200.

† *Ordonnances des Rois*, Tome I, p. 277.

or employer with malice aforethought kill him, it would now be rated murder; formerly, he was suffered to plead justifiable homicide. But the right to life and personal liberty, which is now accorded to them, give the lower grade of laborers only a nominal advantage over their former condition of personal servitude. Then they were important as *property*, and their master rated them and cared for them in proportion to the value of their services, or as their class was scarce or plenty. Now they must care for themselves at a disadvantage, having, it is true, the freedom to live should they desire it, but only on conditions which breed demoralization and disease. If they can subsist and become reputable on the kernel after the meat has been abstracted; on the fruits of the earth the substance of which has been absorbed by somebody more alert, they are not unwelcome to do so. If they cannot, three alternatives are open to them: they may beg, steal or starve. If they choose the latter, mother nature generously cares for them—uses them to fertilize the earth; in either of the former cases, the state kindly provides for them, and dubs them either paupers or criminals, as the case may be.

Bills were recently introduced in the Parliament of Great Britain for the improvement of the status of the laboring classes. Professor W. A. Hunter, in noticing those bills takes occasion to recite a little bit of history: "Prior to the year 1867," says he, "a workman who quarrelled with his employer and left his work was proceeded against in the same manner as if he were accused of drunkenness or assault. He was arrested by warrant and dragged off to gaol, like a thief or murderer at large; he was tried in a summary fashion; if convicted, a fine of arbitrary amount was imposed, and if the fine with costs were not paid on the spot he was sent to prison as a criminal. In 1867, the 'Master and Servant Act' made some improvement. It required a summons to be served, and a warrant was not to be issued unless the defendant failed to appear. Mr. Cross has gone further: he provides that a breach of contract by a workman shall be dealt with throughout as a civil injury, which it is, and not as a crime, which it is not. Warrants of arrest are abolished, but judgment may be signed for

the amount claimed in default of appearance by the workman. When damages are awarded, execution is to be enforced in the manner adopted by the county courts, and the workman will not be sent to prison unless it appears that he is able to pay but refuses. Another decided improvement is, that under Mr. Cross's bill magistrates will not have the power to inflict a fine. * * * The 'Master and Servant Act' is to be superseded by the 'Employer and Workman Act,' a change of phraseology that aptly expresses the better spirit of modern legislation."* We should add that the bills referred to, after much opposition, finally passed Parliament by a considerable majority. This stride is a long one for England to take in the direction of justice to the struggling masses.

In modern Russia society is divided, by law and custom, into four principal classes. *First*, the highest class, consisting of about eight hundred thousand landed gentry, the nobility; *Second*, the clergy, also a landed class, for the most part, consisting of about six hundred thousand; *Third*, the merchant and tradesman, a much larger class than either of the former; and, *Fourth*, the artisans and agriculturists, formerly the villeins, composing the bulk of the Russian people — in round numbers fifty-seven million souls, according to the statistic (*Statistitcheskii Vrémennik*) of 1871. In speaking of the relative position of the different classes in Russia, M. Leroy Beaulieu pertinently observes: "L'histoire et la loi ont divisé le peuple russe en compartiments divers, superposés les uns aux autres comme des étages qui, de la base au sommet, iraient en se rétrécissant brusquement. La société russe offre ainsi à distance l'aspect d'une pyramide à degrés comme la pyramide de Saggarah aux bords du Nil, chaque degré se partageant encore en gradins secondaires."†

These social grades are a permanent feature of Russian society; established, as M. Leroy Beaulieu says, by custom and law — *i. e.* the will of the ruling class — and are almost as

* *Fortnightly Review*, August, 1875.

† *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, août, 1875, p. 522.

indifferent to change as is the pyramid to which he likens them, or the stratifications of the rocks themselves. The whole power of government and religion, of statescraft and priestcraft, is exerted to maintain and perpetuate them, to the end that a monopoly of privileges may continue forever in the possession of the nobility and the ruling caste.

In England, as society emerged from feudalism, and the civil power assumed the functions hitherto exercised by the military, the existing order of social distinctions was diligently sought to be maintained. To this end statutory edicts succeeded and seconded military decrees. What the sword had achieved the statutes confirmed. Special legislation was freely resorted to, — and the enginery of the courts compensated the failure of milder means. In brief, whatever tended to impair the influence of the aristocracy or to abrogate or weaken the power of the dominant class, was resisted with jealous care. The people were denied a voice in the government—denied an influence in making or in interpreting the laws. They might learn to repeat the catechism which contained prayers for kings and rulers and exhortations to obey all those in authority, but they were forbidden to learn to read. Their education was prohibited by special statutes. The wages of the laborer were fixed by law; and it was an offence to ask for more than the law allowed. The man, woman or child who refused to work on the prescribed terms was sent to prison and severely dieted. No christian priest dared tell his flocks that mankind were of one blood and one flesh for a long time after the lapse of feudalism in England. In Russia "the catechism for children teaches them to love the Czar before God, and denounces it as a crime to love any one but the Czar."* Even the circulation of the Bible was prohibited; and the penalty for a peasant's reading the Bible was flogging and banishment to the mines of Siberia.† Such harsh measures seem altogether out of proportion to the value of the end they served. And yet the rulers could not consistently do less or

* Rabbe's & Duncan's *Hist. of Russia*, Vol. II, p. 234.

† *Ibid.*, p. 235.

pursue a milder course. Only by ignorance and superstition can injustice be perpetuated forever, and wrong made to wear the aspect of right.

"When capital and labor first met," says an English essayist, "capital alone had rights; labor had none. The ox, the ass, the man-slave and the woman-slave, were in the same legal position; their comfort or desires were no further consulted than was necessary to keep them in good condition for work," * nay, barely that! The legal cunning and statecraft displayed to perpetuate this abnormal, wrong discrimination between governors and governed; to prevent the progress of the commonalty, and to secure to a class a monopoly of those privileges entailed by feudalism, offer one of the most saddening, and at the same time instructive lessons in English history. It was not enough that they, the governing classes of England, held the soil by hereditary right, and had legislative privileges secured to them by immemorial custom; that they possessed the pulpit, the schools, the learning, and the courts; but they essayed to control the inevitable laws of nature in commerce and trade, domestic manufacture, labor and wages, etc. A notable attempt of this kind was made by an English Parliament of nobles and bishops in the fourteenth century. On the particular occasion to which we refer, the Black Death had been so fatal among the lower classes in London, that laborers were in unusual demand. Nothing was more natural than that those who were so fortunate as to survive its ravages should claim an increase of wages. This demand, altogether just and proper in itself, Parliament met by the Statute of 23, Edward III, which enacted "That every man in England, of whatever condition, bond or free, of able body, and within sixty years of age, not living of his own nor by any trade, shall be obliged, when required, to serve any master who is willing to hire him, at such wages as were usually paid three years since [before the plague] or for some time preceding; provided that the lords or villein or tenants in villeinage, shall have the preference of their labor, so that

* *Fortnightly Review*, August, 1875.

they retain no more than shall be necessary for them. More than these old wages is strictly forbidden to be offered as well as demanded. No one is permitted, under color of charity, to give alms to a beggar." * But this unjust and arbitrary statute was not always imposed. And the Commoners frequently complained to the king of the fact, but without avail, as Hallam says, from his "inability to change the order of Providence."†

A few years later, still harsher statutes were passed by Parliament to repress the growing influence of the common people in public affairs. It enacted in 12, Richard II, ch. 3, that "No servant or laborer should depart, even at the expiration of his [term of] service, from the hundred in which he lived, without permission under the king's seal; nor might any who had been bred to husbandry till twelve years old exercise any other calling." And later still "the Commons petitioned that villeins might not put their children to school in order to advance them by the Church, and this for the honor of all the freemen of the kingdom." In the same Parliament they complained that villeins fly to cities and boroughs, whence their masters cannot recover them; and if they attempt it, are hindered by the people; and prayed that the lords might seize their villeins in such places without regard to the franchises thereof."‡ And still later, in Statute 7, Henry IV, ch. 17, is enacted "That no one shall put his son or daughter apprentice to any trade in a borough, unless he have land or rent to the value of twenty shillings a year, but that any one may put his children to school."‖

These proscriptive statutes are mere samples of legislation during the century following the beginning of the reign of that popular prince, Edward III, in one of the most liberal and enlightened nations of modern times. Nor has such legislation ever been wholly abandoned in England. What it was in other and less humane and enlightened countries, as Italy,

* Hallam's *Middle Ages*, Vol. III, p. 178. † *Id.*

‡ *Rat. Parl.* 15, *Richard II*, *Id.*, pp, 294, 296.

‖ *Vide* Hallam's *Middle Ages*, Vol. III, p. 181.

Spain, Austria, or the German Provinces, we leave the reader to imagine. To complete this abnormal domestic picture we have only to examine the rate of wages of common laborers, as established by the laws of Parliament about the same time. The statute of laborers of the year A. D. 1350, to which reference has been made, "fixed the wages of reapers during harvest at three pence a day without diet." The Statute of 23, Henry VI, ch. 12, nearly a century later, raised the wages of reapers to five pence, and those of carpenters were fixed at three and a half pence per day without board. Fifty years later, or, more precisely, in the year A. D. 1496, the Statute of 11, Henry VII, ch. 22, slightly increased the wages of builders, leaving those of harvesters unchanged.

But it should be borne in mind that these were the wages paid to a superior class of laborers. The wages of the commoner sort, shepherds, porters, servants, etc., were much less than the above. Thus the above statute of Henry VII fixed the yearly wages of shepherds at one pound and four shillings, barely one penny per diem; those of a common house servant at eighteen shillings and four pence per annum, including board for the latter. Then, there were still other classes whose wages were only nominal, barely sufficient to purchase the filthy rags they wore upon their still filthier backs.

These facts would be misleading, however, apart from the prices current of farm products, at the same period. These, it must be confessed, were correspondingly low. Wheat, for example, was barely 4*d*. per bushel; meat was 1½ farthings per pound. An ox sold for 12*s*. to 16*s*.; sheep, for 1*s*. 2*d*. to 1*s*. 4*d*. Butter brought ½*d*. per pound; cheese ½*d*. per pound; while twenty-five eggs sold for a penny. Other things were in proportion. It should also be stated in modification of the circumstances of low wages, that the value of money has greatly depreciated since the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Hallam and others estimate the value of money of those times at twenty-four times that of the currency of England fifty years ago. Hence, to get a just idea of equivalents, one should multiply the wages, prices and incomes of Edward III's time by twenty-four. This considerably

modifies the painful impression the wages of the laboring classes of those days give one.

Contrasted, moreover, with the wages of the laborer in Europe to-day, the impression they produce is still more favorable. Many writers, indeed, assert that he is not paid so well in the nineteenth century as he was in the sixteenth, taking into consideration the decrease in the value of money, and the increase in the cost of the necessaries of life. No hand-laborer in Europe can to-day support a family without his family's help; the wife, and children from a very tender age, work by the side of the husband and father, in the mines, factories, and on their lord's estate. In England, where labor is better rewarded than on the Continent, adult mill-hands receive 14*s.* to 20*s.* per week; adult females, 9*s.* to 16*s.* per week; children, 5*s.* to 6*s.* per week. Policemen, porters, clerks, coachmen, omnibus-drivers, grooms, valets and others of this grade of laborers, are paid £10 to £50 per annum.* This class of laborers, says Mr. Albert S. Bolles, "are worse off than formerly." Agricultural laborers—adult males—are paid 12*s.* to 14*s.* per week, with which they have to supply themselves. The same writer, in speaking of the wretched condition of the English peasant, says that "it is not relieved by a single consideration save that of emigration. In some counties he fares much better than in others; but in all his case is gloomy enough. Nor do we see much hope for him so long as the present system of land tenure prevails." †

In France unskilled labor is more poorly remunerated than in England. Factory hands there are paid all the way from forty cents to seventy-three cents a day; children, twenty-five cents. The day-laborer (male) receives on an average thirty-five cents a day; a woman, about seventeen cents; and a child about twelve and a half cents a day. This is for farm labor.‡ Skilled artisans receive from five dollars to twelve

* For an exhaustive account of wages and earnings of all classes of people in England as late as 1866, see *Wages and Earnings of the Laboring Classes*, by Leone Levi, F. S. S., etc. London, 1867.

† *The Conflict between Labor and Capital*, p. 70.

‡ Cited, *Ibid*, p. 62. *Statistiques de la France.* 2e Série, Tome XII, p. 24.

dollars per week in all European countries that have any demand for them at all. In the United States all classes of labor are much better rewarded than elsewhere, thanks to popular institutions and broad acres; but it should be remembered that the currency in the United States is greatly depreciated, there being an excess of money (paper); also, that the cost of living in this country is much greater.*

What were the sequences of this systematic proscription and oppression? The apologists of power and privilege say, the present colossal development of civilization. They point with satisfaction to the progress in science and literature, the innumerable army of geniuses in letters, science, discovery, art and industry—which could not have been but for lives of leisure and freedom from bread-and-butter cares. It was necessary, say they, to enforce sacrifices on the masses, that beacons might be established along the dangerous coasts of civilization. Otherwise humanity had been wrecked. To this view we respectfully demur. While admitting some compensation in that direction, the evil that has followed in the train of this injustice is far in excess of the good. In our view the result to the society of Europe has been as if innumerable foul pools had overflowed their banks and flooded every avenue and highway within her borders, exhaling the elements of disease and infecting the whole atmosphere. Disease, crime, and pauperism form the triple monstrosity which it has bred and which lurks unhid in every corner of Christendom. At this distance, with our enlightenment and improved means and agencies of observation and treatment, we find it impossible to apprehend in all its awful proportions the magnitude of the suffering from infectious causes which may be fairly attributed to the destitution of the working classes. Our space will not permit us to enlarge upon the abnormal picture; but we cannot forbear to say that its twin sister—pauperism—was an evil of almost equal magnitude. So serious indeed did that evil become in England at the decadence of feudalism and before, that it engrossed a large

* *Vide* Census of the United States, 1860.

share of the attention of king and council, and subsequently of Parliament, for many centuries. Disease was generally left pretty much to the care of Providence, then as now; but the victims of pauperism and crime were severely legislated against. It never occurred to the "statesmen" of that day that the pauper was the result of social conditions which they were responsible for, and that the criminal was equally the product of environments formed by a species of statecraft in which he had no part.

One of the most violent repressive statutes against idle persons and paupers, in English history, is perhaps that of 1, Edward VI, ch. 3. In this Act every "loitering and idle wanderer" who could not give a satisfactory account of himself, or refused to apply himself to honest work, or to accept work for his food and drink, or at such wages as were offered him, was adjudged a vagabond. If he continued to refuse to work, he was branded with the letter *V*, with a heated iron applied to his quivering pauper flesh, and adjudged a slave to any person who demanded him for a period of two years. Meanwhile he was to be fed upon bread and water, without meat, and compelled to do such work "how vile soever it be, as he shall be put unto, by beating, chaining or otherwise." If he ran away before the expiration of his term of service, he was to be "branded in the cheek with the letter *S*, and adjudged a slave for life." If he repeated the offence, he was to "suffer death as a felon." If no one demanded this legitimate scion of feudalism and usurpation, he was examined by a justice, and if condemned as a vagabond, the letter *V* was burnt in his breast, and he was put to work in chains, or otherwise, upon the public highway. The city, borough, or town where he was born was made responsible for the enforcement of the provisions of this Act; and if it appeared that he had falsified as to the place of his birth, he was "branded in the face, and condemned as a slave for life." And it was further ordered, that the master of any slave may put a ring of iron about his neck, arm, or leg, "for the more knowledge and security of keeping him." *

* Vide *History of the English Poor Law*, by Sir George Nichols, K. C. B. London, 1854, Vol. I, p. 132.

The Act was equally severe upon child-vagrants. They were to be given away or apprenticed to any responsible person willing to take them and care for them until they reached mature age—20 for the female, 24 for the male. If they ran away from such master or mistress, the latter was entitled to receive them back, on condition of a stated period of servitude; and at the expiration of the time, he or she was empowered "to let, set forth, sell, bequeath, or give the service and labor of such slave-child to any person or persons, whomsoever he will." For acts of disobedience, resistance to punishment, or wanton attack upon their master or mistress, or conspiring to do mischief to either, they were "to suffer the pains of death as in case of felony."*

Earlier and later enactments and decrees against this, as it proved to be, rapidly growing evil, provided penalties for alms-giving as well as alms-taking. If it be a crime to beg it is a crime to give, they reasoned. Thus the Act against vagabonds and beggars of 11, Henry VII, ch. 2, after imposing the penalty of imprisonment and bread-and-water fare upon the convicted vagrant and beggar, makes it a misdemeanor for any person to give either meat or drink or to show them any favor whatsoever, and imposes a fine of 12*d.* for each offence.† This was near the close of the fifteenth century, nearly fifteen hundred years after the introduction of Christianity!

So also, fifty years later, in the Act of 14, Elizabeth, ch. 5, after declaring that "all parts of this realm of England and Wales be presently with rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars exceedingly pestered, by means whereof daily happeneth horrible murders, thefts and other great outrages, to the high displeasure of Almighty God," proceeds to enact the penalty of whipping and burning through the ear, for the first offence of vagrancy; for the third offence he is to "suffer death, and loss of land and goods, as felon, without allowance of benefit of clergy or sanctuary."‡ The Act further prescribes the

* *History of the English Poor Law*, Vol. I, p. 133.

† *Ibid.*, p. 97.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

penalty of twenty shillings upon any person harboring, giving money, lodging, or any other relief to a beggar, and imposes a fine of five pounds and imprisonment at the Queen's pleasure, upon any person who "do disturb or let the execution of this Act." In justice to the humanity of this statute, it should be stated that unlike most former laws of this kind, it made humane provision for the care of the aged and infirm poor.*

Thus did legislation proceed on this grave evil—pauperism—growing more and more lenient and humane, however, as the centuries advanced. Almost every Parliament has been compelled to give it attention and devise some method of relief to England's starving and indolent poor, from Edward III's time to the present day. Proscriptive statutes were of no more avail in arresting the evil than if they had been directed against the trade-winds, the ebbing and flowing of the tides, or the course of water in the Thames. Pauperism continued to increase, until it has become an evil more serious and alarming to-day, not only in England and the rest of Europe, but also in America, than it ever was at any time since the dawn of western civilization. The question of How to deal with the evil presents a problem yet to be solved. But howsoever difficult the cure of it may be, its ætiology, as we have seen, is by no means obscure.

Another sequence of class rule was the rapid growth of a criminal class. Crime bears a close relationship to pauperism. The ætiology of the two is closely allied. An individual of an emotional nature, too weak to be vicious—so good as to be good-for-nothing—when stung by want, and unable by the ordinary means to provide for himself and family, will naturally beg. The stronger and more heroic nature, too proud to beg, when similarly circumstanced, will naturally steal. The latter prefers to obtain by might what the former seeks to obtain by favor. Hence crime and pauperism are ever found in the same company, for the viciously weak and the viciously strong everywhere go hand in hand. An alien population, that is to

* *History of the English Poor Law*, Vol. I, p. 168.

say, a class of individuals who have no share in making the laws, and by consequence no interest in maintaining them, is always a dangerous class. It is impossible for any human being to feel an interest in, and a respect for, institutions and laws from the rights and privileges of which he is debarred. Such a class must be alien in sentiment and disposition, if not in blood and nativity. Law-breakers they become by nature and circumstance; ,criminals therefore, by nature and circumstance. And as they cannot, from the very constitution and sequence of things, be otherwise than what they are made to be by nature and circumstance, so are they in this wise. Society, therefore, at the periods of which we have been writing, the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and later, literally swarmed with thieves, robbers and assassins, as well as with beggars, cripples and the infirm poor—natural born and legitimate children of want and wrong, every one. In no city in Europe could a man be secure in either person or property, either day or night, except he were under the eye and protection of the police. Pirates and freebooters were on every sea; assassins and banditti in every thicket and by-way. Fraud and peculation were everywhere the rule; virtue and honesty the exception. The coin was debased, or clipped to half or whole of its value; cheating in weights and measures was equally common. An army of constables was necessary to regulate the conduct of the populace; an army of inquisitors and inspectors was necessary to maintain a small approach to honesty in business. Assassinations, conspiracies and insurrections were as common as want, disease and wretchedness. The value of a human life was everywhere at a discount. For the commonest offences the severest penalties were mercilessly inflicted. Men were imprisoned for debt; outlawed for trespass; pilloried for false teaching; burnt and broken on the wheel for heresy; hung for murder (of a superior); and drawn and quartered for treason or insurrection.* In

* As an example of the fearful penalties inflicted for the crime of engaging in or exciting an insurrection, we cite the sentence against Andrew Harda, Earl of Carlisle, in the reign of Edward II: "The award of the Court is, that for your treason you be drawn, and hanged and

England, during the reign of Henry VIII, seventy-two thousand people were executed by judicial sentence for theft and robbery—a most significant revelation of the state of public morals, when it is remembered that the entire population of the Island including Wales, at that time, was but a little above four millions. "The condition of the people from a religious and moral point of view," observes Mr. Nichols, "must have been low indeed, to have rendered such a fearful sacrifice of life at the shrine of justice necessary for the protection of property, although other causes may have tended to increase its insecurity." * The inference we draw from the facts is somewhat different from that of Sir George, while we accept his conclusion in respect of the fearful extent of social demoralization, namely: That the state of public justice and economic science must have been fearfully low to have failed to find a juster way to treat the moral disorders of the time, and better uses to which to put human beings than to draw, quarter, hang, or banish them for crimes, the incentive to which society had herself created.

The laws that shape the course and direction of society

---

beheaded; that your heart, and bowels, and entrails, *whence came your traitorous thoughts*, be torn out and burnt to ashes, and that the ashes be scattered to the winds; and your body be cut into four quarters, and that one of them be hanged upon the Tower of Carlisle, another upon the Tower of Newcastle, a third upon the bridge of York, and the fourth at Shrewsbury; and that your head sit upon London Bridge for an example to others, that they may never presume to be guilty of such treason as yours against their liege Lord * * *" These are only the concluding sentences, and are, as Mr. J. Owen Pike observes, "thoroughly characteristic of the age."—*History of Crime in England*, Vol. I, p. 226. L. Owen Pike. London, 1873.

* *History English Poor Laws*, Vol. I, p. 130. The other cause to which the author refers "was the absence of an adequate provision for the relief of the destitute."—*Ibid.* He also refers to still another, but with doubtful logic: "But it is nevertheless certain that the moral habits of the people were then of a very low standard, and we cannot but suppose that this must have been in some degree owing to the nature of the religious instruction imparted to them!"—*Ibid.* The burden of our essay, it is needless to say, is to show that the main cause of the admitted demoralization, was something very different, viz.: Unjust laws, economic and political.

are not altogether dissimilar to those that perform the same office for the individual. As society sows so she must reap. If she sow the wind she must reap the whirlwind. Is it not folly in an individual to expect to reap wheat when he has sown tares? To gather flowers where he has planted thistles? To hope to escape a pestilence when he has nursed a contagion? What reason, then, has society to hope to escape similar consequences of pursuing similar courses? Unless our ethical sense be all astray, it is grossly irrational to expect definite results without anticipating the conditions, equally definite, upon which those results depend—irrational in governments and individuals alike. As pure water cannot flow from impure fountains, so a pure wholesome breed of human beings cannot be brought forth from noisome conditions, physical or moral. To oppress is to generate resentment and revenge; to starve is to make weak; "to be weak is to be miserable." And of all animals, man is the most sensitive to conditions and environments. The unhappy types of our species that fill our jails and poor-houses, are produced by conditions from which nothing better could be expected—nay, nothing better could come. They are like vermin that thrive in filth, or poisonous weeds that grow in low dank soil and noxious air. In so far as they are in harmony with their environment, we do not see how the idea of individual responsibility could properly be associated with their existence.

The experience and conduct of certain animals furnish abundant illustrations of the baleful influence of privation on physical development. The stronger—man-like—frequently oppress and persecute the weaker members of the herd, monopolizing the food provided for all. The consequence to the weaker animal is physical deterioration and disease; to the stronger animal, increased sleekness and arrogance. Swine frequently exhibit these traits, and suffer these consequences, when they are fed in the same trough together. The fact excites in us no surprise, however, for they are not supposed to be moved at all by the principles of benevolence and justice, but exclusively by the lower impulses of self. So also do cattle not unfrequently exhibit the same propensity

when fed in herds. They, too, are not credited with the possession of the sentiment of fair-play. While the alien cock in a family of farm-yard fowls, if not able to take his part in the struggle for existence, has an unhappy fate indeed. He is kept at a respectable distance, on the outskirts of plenty, and grows lank, lousy, and featherless enough to satisfy the most imperious of masters and advocates of castes and distinctions. The occasional crumb he is able to steal is barely sufficient to keep soul and body united under the same impoverished skin; while his master and superior is fat and glossy; struts about grandly; does the cock-a-doodle-doing in a manner that seems to reproach his oppressed fellow for not availing himself of the advantages which he himself enjoys. "Hast thou not had the same opportunity to scratch that I have, O lazy thief of a fowl! Why didst thou not improve it? This dunghill is for me and mine. I have taken possession of it by the authority of these spurs. (Showing a fine pair of spurs.*) It is more than I need, it is true, but thou art of too ill a breed to share it with me. Thou art by nature a coward and a sneak, though one of the fairest of chickens in thy youth. Be content to be a miserable butt, fit only for noble fowls to sharpen their spurs upon! Accept thy lot, low creature, that thou art!" Such is the plain English of the pantomine used by the governor of the barn-yard brood toward his hungry fellow, whose fault, it may easily be conceived, is inability to cope successfully with his powerful rival.

That this phenomenon of animal life bears a close resemblance to that of human life, must be apparent to every observant individual. The consequences of it, too, are even more demoralizing on the human species than they are on the animal species. The late Robert Dale Owen has very truly and forcibly observed, that, "Men in the mass, cannot be miserable and virtuous. A people contending against famine necessa-

* When the great Earl Warrenne, during the reign of William Rufus, the successor of William the Conqueror, was questioned concerning his title to the land which he possessed, he pointed to his sword as his title, having received his lands from the Conqueror in lieu of military service.—*Vide* Hume's *History of England*, Vol. I, Appendix, p. 451.

rily become immoral. While abject poverty broods over men and presses them to the earth, their minds are crushed and their hearts are withered. The words of the wisest teacher are spoken in vain to crushed minds and withered hearts. If it be sometimes true of the individual, it is always false of the mass, that sharp adversity purifies and ennobles. The deadliest part of the curse of Cain—the curse on those who toil to live and live only to die—is, that they are blighted in mind as well as in body; it is, that they lose not only rational enjoyment, but all taste for it; it is, that they are deprived, not alone of the knowledge that elevates and improves, but of all desire to obtain it. The iron enters into the soul, and corrupts its health, and destroys its beauty."* So, likewise, the felicitous author of *Ecce Homo* has enunciated the same truth; justly regarding the effect of destitution and the war of property interests as impediments to the growth of spiritual grace in both oppressor and oppressed. He writes: "In another class of society there rages another terrible destroyer of natural affection, hunger. Christ spoke of suffering as a wholesome discipline; but there is an extreme degree of suffering which seems more ruinous to the soul than the most enervating prosperity. When existence itself cannot be supported without an unceasing and absorbing struggle, then there is no room in the heart for any desire but the wretched animal instinct of self-preservation, which merges in an intense, pitiable, but scarcely blamable selfishness. What tenderness, what gratitude, what human virtue can be expected of the man who is holding a wolf by the ears." †

When the race is to the swift and the battle to the strong, the fleetest and the strongest wins. With a few thousand nobles in possession of more than half of the arable land of England, sixteen per cent. of her people, according to Mr. Baxter's tables,‡ are paupers; while ninety-nine-hundredths

* *Essay on Labor*, p. 12.

† Third Ed. p. 217.

‡ *National Income*, p. 87, cited from Canon Gregory's able little volume: *Are we better than our Fathers?* p. 81, which see for fuller data on this subject.

of the rest of honest Englishmen live from hand to mouth, on the ragged edge of pauperism, daily, being kept from becoming a burden upon society by English mines and factories, which, until quite recently, gave employment to children above six years of age, as well as to men and women of all ages and condition. At the period of the Revolution in England, 1688, according to Gregory King's *Observations*,* one person in six was in receipt of public relief, about sixteen per cent. of the entire population of England and Wales being exempt from the poll-tax for this reason! While, therefore, the wealth of England has increased in almost fabulous proportions; while she is, in fact, the richest kingdom in the world, the condition of her laboring classes—the real source of her immense capital—has been but slightly ameliorated during the last two centuries.

In France the pauper class constitutes nearly three per cent. of her population. Here, too, as in England, is great wealth; but mendicity is largely controlled by the learning and statesmanship of her rulers, in maintaining the industries, that the people may not want for work. Italy is overrun with paupers, having above eight per cent. Besides, her laborers are poorly paid and miserably fed. In Belgium, one person in six is a pauper. The social condition of Spain is equally low; while east and west Flanders have even a worse showing, about thirty per cent. of her population being on the pauper list! †

Unpleasant as is the picture of society unveiled by these statistics of pauperism in Europe, partial and incomplete though they are, the reality is more unpleasant still. There

---

* *Ibid.*, pp. 76, 77.

† That the pauper list does not adequately represent the number of a State's poor is self-evident. The story it tells is necessarily partial—as there is always a class above public pauperism, that receive partial or full support from private charity. "Thousands, especially in Belgium," says Mr. Bolles, "are supported by private charity, and their names never appear upon any public roll for relief. Keeping this fact in sight, the pauper lists more perfectly indicate *the number who cannot labor for the want of something to do, than some, perhaps, are inclined at first to believe.*"—*The Conflict between Labor and Capital*, p. 34.

are millions of lowly people, low grade citizens, tradesmen, laborers and servants, that barely earn a sufficiency to enable them to keep the wolf from their door. While they are not beggars, their condition is that of extreme destitution — a destitution, indeed, closely bordering upon pauperism. Such is the condition of millions of the Russian peasantry, late serfs, who live in communes or work at trades, obtaining for themselves a beggarly support — just above the confines of destitution. The self-sustaining peasantry in Italy are equally low and degraded. The condition of that class in the far East is below, if possible, anything to be observed in the West. There, the surplus products of entire provinces are absorbed to support in regal splendor and lascivious idleness the reigning House — as in Turkey.*

These are evils so interwoven with the constitution of modern society that it is manifestly impossible to eradicate them and preserve the integrity of the social fabric. Nothing less radical in our view than a total change in the constitution of society will be of any avail. The occasion calls for sacrifices from a quarter whence sacrifices seldom come—sacrifices of privileges sanctified with age; sacrifices of rights (so-called) which are all but universally recognized—the rights of income on capital—usury; sacrifices of luxurious ease and fastidious tastes; sacrifices of the pleasures of the senses, the indulgence of which however enjoyable, leave behind a sting. Who of us is prepared to make these sacrifices, or any of them? Are any of you, gentlemen of the surplice and gown? Or you, of the professions of law and medicine? Any of you gentlemen of leisure, high-born pensioners and legatees? devotees of the chase and fishing tackle? recipients of grants, annuities and dividends? presidents of banks, corporations? heads of monopolies, establishments, rings, etc.? Evidently not. Privileges which carry with them emoluments and distinctions are too dearly prized by the generality of mankind, to be voluntarily renounced; and such a renunciation would be a

* Forty thousand of the poor people of Turkey are said to be confined in Turkish prisons for debt to the Turkish government.

most unusual and strange phenomenon indeed. And yet, unless these things are done, the social disorders which are upon us will obviously go on from bad to worse, and our children or children's children will be involved in perils, the magnitude of which we, indeed, foresee, but have not the courage to remove.

ART. III.—1. *Auf der Höhe;* 2 Bde. *Barfüssele;* von BERTHOLD AUERBACH. Stuttgart. 1867–8.

2. *Das Haideprinzesschen;* von E. MARLITT. Leipzig. 1877.

3. *Um Sceptre und Kronen;* von GREGOR SUMARROW. Stuttgart. 1873.

4. *Ein Arzt der Seele;* 3 Bde. von WILHELMINE VON HILLERN. Berlin. 1874.

5. *Ein Held der Feder; Veneta.* von ERNST WERNER. Leipzig. 1875–6.

PART II.

AUERBACH is in some sense a foil to Spielhagen. While the latter allows nearly all of his characters to be borne on by their several temperaments, to the fate which their nature brings them, Auerbach would fain teach humanity how to make its own events, and control its own destiny. *Auf der Höhe* is rich in suggestive thoughts, but its leading theme, which rolls forward and repeats itself and begins anew, like one of Bach's fugues, is the idea of expiation as a purifying process. The subordinate characters take their share in this; their experience working in like variations on the original or leading character. This novel deals with royalty and courtiers, with the heights of worldly and political power, as well as those of moral grandeur; and though we may well hesitate to endorse the example of the court penitent, in withdrawing from her own sphere, to work out her own moral purification, yet we can admire the motive which conceived of such a sacrifice.

The leading personages in *On the Heights*, represent

the different kinds of mental and moral elevation attainable by mortals. The king and queen, besides their royal position have royal minds, though of totally different quality. While the latter stands at the apex of moral purity, and becomes unpitiful to the faults of others, through inability to sympathize with the wrong-doer, the king, though erring, has self-control enough to force the remembrance of his sin and consequent remorse into the background, that he may be able to perform the duties of his office.

Old Count Eberhard, who represents abstract philosophy, and what is possible to a life controlled by the maxims of pure reason—the very "Apostle of Self-redemption," while refining himself from earth's vices and meanness, neglects his motherless children; the son grows up among strangers without filial affection, a devotee of pleasure; and his daughter, the heroine of the romance, Countess Irma, a being of all physical loveliness and intellectual brightness, becomes "the king's favorite," in a very equivocal sense; the report of which at a most unpropitious moment, causes the sudden death of the old Count. Another leading figure, and he the nearest to perfection in the book, is the Court physician, Dr. Gunther, who knows how to use the good things of life, "without misplacing his centre of gravity." He appreciated and made the most of Court favor, but not resting his inmost hopes upon it; yielding to the necessities of etiquette; but maintaining his self-respect by truthfulness or silence; constantly refreshing his true inner life by the study of the physical sciences, and in the midst of an harmonious home circle, presided over by a sensible, cultivated, but self-impelled wife.

The heroine Irma is German, through and through; supercharged with a receptive capacity for all that is strong, noble, good and beautiful; with feelings sensitively alive to external impressions, she appears for a while to have put herself, or rather allowed herself to drift into that frame of mind voluntarily assumed by Goethe at one period of his life, when he says, "I treat my poor heart like a sick child, and gratify its every fancy,"—thus thoughtlessly did Irma. She enjoys the luxurious surroundings of the Court—the statuary, the pictures,

the flowers, the artistically arrayed men and women, the music, the concerts, the plays, the masquerades, and the changes from Winter to Summer palaces, the stag-hunts, the bugles and the hounds. She loves the queen for her gentleness and goodness; but, alas, she loves the king too, "for the nobleness which she sees in him!" and her keen observation enables her to perceive, that though the queen is all goodness and purity, she is too weak "to be a fit mate for the king," who soon wearies of her monotonous, serious, yielding temperament. The thought comes to Irma, "the priest has given my king to you, but Nature gives him to me."

Awakened from this false dream of happiness by the sudden death of her father, who has yet time to recognize her in his last moments, but who places his dying hand upon her brow, not in blessing, but as if he would brand her with a word of shame; she flies from her inheritance, from the Court, from the world—from her world among the titled and cultivated,—and seeks a retreat among the mountains, with a peasant farmer, whose wife she had known as nurse to the infant prince. Here, Irma, her identity concealed, dressed as a peasant, takes up her abode—determined because her "eye had offended her to pluck it out." She is believed by the king and Court to be dead, drowned in a lake near which her riding-hat and whip were found. With something of that feeling which has sent so many sin-stung, or grief-stricken souls into monasteries and convents, she determines to withdraw from the scenes of her temptations, but will not go behind iron bars, because she realizes that to conquer herself, while still physically free to return to her former life if she pleases, is yet nobler than to cut off all possible temptation by one irrevocable decision. She is determined to win the victory over herself, over her vanity, her pride and her love, without assistance from any one. Then follows her life as described in her daily journal, among these uncouth people, good but rough; how she missed the little conveniences of her former position; how she at last taught her delicate white hands to work; not at house-drudgery, that was impossible, but at wood-carving, a common industry among the scattered dwell-

ers on the mountains. This work afforded her some outlet for her artistic tastes.

Once, overpowered by the feeling of needed refreshment of spirit; utterly soul-impoverished by her uncongenial surroundings; feeling something as the poet of Wiemer expresses himself when away from the refinements of city life, she determined to make a short visit to the capital:

> "Uberall regt sich Bildung und Streben
> All wird sich mit Farben beleben,
> Doch an Blumen fehlt's in Revier;
> Sie nimmt geputzte menschen dafür,
> Kehere dich um von dissen Höhen
> Nacht der Stadt zurück zu sehen."

She took for protector and companion on her journey an old wood-cutter who figured as her uncle. On reaching the neighborhood of the lake where she was supposed to have perished, and on the shores of which the king had caused a cross to be erected to her memory—and which had become, in consequence of the event, a favorite resort of curiosity-seekers—she not only read the recital of her death, but listened to the various accounts given of her disappearance from the Court; its causes and mysterious conclusion; she says, "I witnessed a legend in the process of formation."

Though strictly preserving her incognito, she looked at the palace, saw through the trees of the royal park the ladies of the Court, her old companions; even visited the great picture-gallery; and indulged in one night of music, listening to the opera of the *Magic Flute*. Thus having tested her courage and strength of will, having filled her eyes and ears with the most beautiful sights and sounds which the world of art could furnish, she returned to her mountain home determined to remain and die there. The struggle did not last long; five years of mental disquietude, of moral questionings, of continual introspection, with the absence of all which such a nature really needed for its nourishment, ended the battle. Body and soul were worn out with the unnatural conflict, but she had gained her purpose, had effectually repressed her natural instincts, and "on the heights" of that moral victory

could feel that her expiation was complete and her sacrifice accepted. But we may still entertain the query, whether Irma might not have done better for herself and the world, by living than by dying. This sort of lingering suicide, is it more justifiable than the sudden taking of one's life? For how could such a sensitive organization expect to survive the destruction of all her innate tendencies, in a perpetual condition of semi-disgust at her surroundings; and wherein does such a kind of expiation differ in principle from that of the old-time anchorites, whom this very author would condemn? Irma should have remained in the sphere to which her birth, and that impliedly, Providence, had placed her—purified herself from its peculiar evils, and aided others of her rank to do the same; that would have been a truer courage, a braver victory. He who flies from the enemy is conquered before he is beaten.

Irma's life with the rustics, where she had burried so many talents in the napkin of obscurity, taught her at least some curious "folk-wisdom." Here are a few specimens of what the people whispered to one another as events suggested :—

"One should not weep for lost friends, after the grass has grown over their graves; it wets their clothes in the other world.

"Every time two people express the same thought at the same time, some poor soul is released from purgatory.

"As long as a babe has not looked in a mirror it can see itself in the hollow of its left-hand.

"When an infant smiles in its sleep angels are whispering to it.

"If an animal is sick, cut out the sod on which it is lying, turn it over, let the animal then lie on it and it will get well.

"'Sunday children' understand the language of animals.

"If you are going to a foreign country take a piece of home baked bread with you, and you will never be homesick,"—and so on *ad infinitum*.

Irma's work in wood caused her to entertain some rather fantastic thoughts; she records her impression that the reason why wood can never be made to express the same degree of beauty in art, as marble, is because the wood has once lived a life of its own—is in its nature a vital organism, and hence cannot twice represent that principle truly; while on the contrary, life-like beauty can be evoked from marble by the

genius of man, because it had hitherto been an inert substance, serving no human purpose.

Between Marlitt's novels it is difficult to choose; all have some distinctive features illustrative of German thought. We have selected *Das Haideprinzesschen* because it appears to have been written with two very distinct objects. First, to elucidate the question of the respective worthiness and value to the State of the burgher class, the producers, *vs.* the titled idlers who spend and destroy, but create nothing. The secondary object is to show how the conventionalities and selfish intrigues of the world would be likely to impress a bright intelligent, but entirely innocent and worldly ignorant mind, suddenly brought into contact with them. *Das Haideprinzesschen* opens with a scene in the heath district, where certain antiquarians have come to open some ancient tumuli, and are watched during the operation by a young peasant smoking a pipe, and the shy yet curious eyes of a young girl of seventeen, to whom these men were the first strangers she had ever seen; all her knowledge of society being limited to the farm hands, a few neighboring basket-makers, and the parish Pfarrer. The gentlemen archæologists, and their workmen, succeed in removing the superficial earth; but at the expense of overthrowing the "old grey king of the beeches with his silver-beard," whose giant roots were imbedded under the purple heather, causing a dark cavity to gape before them, which, however, seemed to be quite in the line of their expectations, and they soon came upon a wrought stone, but another overhead, the younger dilletanti pronounced an "erratic block." The young peasant in leaning over to look in, allowed the smoke from his pipe to offend the olfactories of the young gentleman, and the latter took out his silk handkerchief and waved it away. This was the first knowledge which the "little Princess of the Heath" had that tobacco smoke could be offensive to anybody. It shocked her inexpressibly. Both gentlemen then entered the cavern. Presently the younger came out with an object of clay of a yellowish grey color: a funeral urn; the elder reminded him of its fragility. Useless: "at the moment it was placed on the rock it burst, and a cloud of human

bone-dust rose in the air." Fortunately there were others of the same description in the tomb; but from amid the dust, the eldest gentleman, Herr Erick Claudius had discovered a small object, which he carefully examined, it was an ornament of silver filigree work:

"Silver in a pre-historic Germanic grave-mound?" asked doubtfully the younger, named Dagobert. "Look at this precious piece of bronze!" It was a dagger, or knife which he held up, gesturing as if in the presence of an enemy, then toying with it gently, he remarked: "A German hand never clasped this tender little weapon. Dr. Von Sassen is right, this indicates the presence of Phœnicians."

Doctor Von Sassen! these stranger men were speaking of Prinzesschen's learned father, who lived far away in the great city, whom she had never seen within her remembrance, who had apparently forgotten her, and whom she had only heard of through a sort of half-servant, half-governess, and wholly house-keeper at the moorland farm, named Ilsa. For her old half-insane grandmother there, never mentioned him. In her hands, while she stood watching the strangers, Prinzesschen (of course a pet name) held a few of the natural pearls found in the little brook of the district, an inferior production, more curious than valuable. Dagobert perceived them and expressed his desire to possess them; the young girl dropped them into his extended hand; but when in return, he placed in her's three silver dollars, she looked carelessly at the round shining objects for a few moments, and then with an air of perfect indifference dropped them on the sand. She had never before seen money, and did not know its use. This was a greater surprise to the archæologists than all the treasures of the mound.

This child of nature, whom we will now call by her right name, Lenore, could barely read, and her library had hitherto been her prayer-book and a few songs and fairy tales; she wrote but illegibly, and had been prepared for confirmation by Ilsa, by stealth, on account of the prejudices of the old grandmother, who was a relapsed Jewess, and very bitter against the Christians. All this old lady's troubles had come

to her through money, and she hated it and would not suffer the sight of it; but the dollars which Lenore had dropped Heinzt had picked up, and unfortunately letting them roll on the kitchen floor, the metallic ring threw the old lady into such a paroxysm of anger that she was struck with apoplexy and died almost immediately; but not without a brief return to full consciousness and restoration to mental sanity. But though sane, the old Jewess could not forgive the persecutions to which her father had been subjected, though during her marriage to a Christian, she had submitted to the ordinance of baptism: thus when Heinzt, who had been sent for a doctor, returned only with a priest, the old lady utterly refuses to accept of counsel or comfort at his hands. After expatiating on the injuries to which her race had been subjected, all of which wrongs she affirmed had been sustained by the priests, she breaks out:

"Man, I tell you, my father was one of the wisest of the earth: he had collected and stored up immense knowledge, and *that* would be useless in hell: and you teach that those who are in spiritual bondage, who never think, and only believe, shall without trouble attain the kingdom of God; while yet to the seeker only is light and truth. My father has broken bread to the hungry, done justice, pardoned his enemies, loved his God with his whole soul; and shall he suffer in hell to all eternity because of the failure of a few drops of water on his brow. You tyrants of the black frock sell your baptism too dear: I give it to you back. Keep your heaven — you say that that all our race must go to hell.—Well be it so, I will go wherever my father is; I am ready."

The introduction of this incident gives the author an opportunity to express in varied form his sympathy with the Jews. But Heinzt, the farmer lad, was thoroughly frightened to see the good old Pfarrer thus repulsed; nor had he known the faith of his mistress until this outbreak, when he precipitately took to his heels to put himself in a place of safety. When afterwards rebuked for his cowardice by Ilsa, he says: "How? Do you think then that I would stay in a house at the very moment when a Jewish soul was on its way to hell?"

And yet this Heinzt was so tender-hearted that he could not see the most insignificant creature suffer without trying to

relieve it: but then this hard intolerance towards one of another faith was not a natural product of his mind, but had been implanted in him by the bigoted Pfarrer of a neighboring village where he had been confirmed.

But Ilsa returns to the defence of her mistress:

"When I read the sorrowful history of Christ, then I certainly feel heart anger against the Jews; but mark well, brother Heintz, only against those who then lived. Could I be so inhuman as to let my anger fall on people of the present time, who only happen to be their descendants? What would you think of me, if some one had offended me, and to revenge myself I struck their innocent child? Some Jews, hundreds of years ago, once crucified the Saviour, but that Pfarrer yonder, who put these wicked thoughts into your soul crucifies him afresh every day."

Ilsa now decides that Lenore must be taken to her father; to the city, where she can learn something, and live in accordance with the true position of her family. The description of her efforts to get this wild-bird of the heath into close-fitting black garments, her inability to persuade her willingly to leave the only home she had ever known; how at last she pushed her out of the door; followed her, locked up the place and put the key in her pocket, while Lenore looked with dismay at the man who seized her trunk and led the way to the old stage-coach which was to take them to the depot, is very graphically described. As also their arrival in the city; the notice which their unfashionable garments attracted; Lenore's hurt pride, which she felt but knew not how to express, that the people regarded them as subjects of merriment. She now learned for the first time that there was an unknown power, never perceived on the heath, and its name was Fashion.

In the city they went to the residence of Herr Claudius, with whom Dr. von Sassen was at that time a guest, but a guest under peculiar circumstance. The business firm of Claudius was that of very wealthy and long-established florists, who had flourished long before the great tulip mania had broken out in Holland, and at that time had added largely to their fortunes, by sending tulips to Amsterdam; having them put up with Dutch trade-marks, and sending them to foreign markets as the natural products of Holland. The business of

this firm had descended with nearly unbroken regularity from the father to the eldest son for generations; only two breaks having occurred, when the elder brothers, moved by love of change, or ambition, declined the business in favor of the cadets of the family. One of these seceeding florists had become a renowned collector of art gems, particularly of antique curiosities: coins, marbles, pictures, etc., and had built on the large grounds of the estate a more elegant residence than that occupied by the business members of the family. It happened that a rage for the antique had suddenly broken out, not only among the savants of the kingdom, but at Court and among the fashionable people, and Herr Claudius bethought himself to put to use the great collection of his ancestor, lying useless in the large, unoccupied house. Hence he invites Dr. von Sassen, as the acknowledged authority in all such matters, to take up his residence there, with a view of overseeing the cataloguing, verifying and appraising the value of the collection. This absent-minded scholar was not a little embarrassed by the arrival of Ilsa with his daughter, "whom he looked at much as he would at a new and pleasing specimen of art, to be placed by and by in some proper niche." However he soon becomes accustomed to her gentle womanly ways, and a very pleasant, though peculiar friendship is finally established between them. This is a particularly good study, not much overdrawn, of a learned absent-minded man who had been suffered to live too much alone. But the house of Herr Claudius was as freely open to Lenore as that which her father inhabited. In this family there was a disturbing element in the shape of an adopted niece and nephew. Herr Erich Claudius was a widower, and had taken the children Dagobert and Charlotte when they were very young under his care. They were of French parentage, and prided themselves excessively on this account, and through their misdirected fancies and aspirations, had conceived totally wrong impressions of their uncle's motives for certain acts. The young innocent stranger from the moorlands makes her first, very natural mistake in her new life, by becoming fascinated with the bright, dashing, ambitious Charlotte, who pets and praises her by

turns; of course, in this sudden friendship, absorbing many of Charlotte's prejudices and worst suspicions in regard to Herr Claudius, especially in refusing to let these young people use their father's family name: —

"No, no," exclaimed Charlotte, "in us is not one atom of this honest shop-keeping element! My father was a soldier; Dagobert and I are French through and through, body and soul; God be thanked we have not one drop of this fish-blood in our veins. We are only Uncle Erich's adopted children; he has cared for and educated us, and for that I thank him; but he has imposed his name upon us; we ought to be called Méricourt; but no, we must Claudius subscribe ourselves. What a frightful grocerish name! he hangs this name of the shop firm on our foreheads and that is a very great hindrance to Dagobert's *carrière* as a soldier. I feel as if bound to a martyr's stake, and curse the fate which has thrust us young eagles into a crow's nest. From whence come these indestructible feelings, which possess me, if they have not their foundation in the blood which streams through my veins! I have a fine sensitive Paris skin; and see these nails! they are not particularly small, but rosy and faultlessly formed — on them sits a noble's diploma."

Here, as Charlotte takes breath, Lenore naïvely reminds her that Herr Claudius has also "blood upon his hands," referring to a story she had heard from another source. "Ah! God, be not so childish, Lenore," she replies—"that was an honorable duel in which his opponent fell, and that was certainly the most interesting moment in Uncle Erich's shop-keeping existence!"

In the meanwhile Uncle Erich goes on in the even tenor of his way, until Charlotte forces a dénouement, by bringing forward what she has mistaken for proofs of her noble birth and lost fortune. The explanation of the mystery is that Monsieur Méricourt was of very ignoble blood, and had been guilty of an execrable crime, and that honest "shop-keeping Erich," out of compassion for the children's mother whom he had once loved, had taken them under his protection, and had tried to shield them from the stigma of their father's crime by bestowing upon them his own perfectly respectable and spotless name.

The effect of all this unravelling of suspicion, deceit and crime on the simple, truthful, unsophisticated child of the

heath is beautifully and naturally told; particularly her distress and confusion, when she ascertains that Charlotte expects her to keep all her communications perfectly secret—even from Ilsa, the friend of her whole life; and still more pathetic is her intense remorse, when under the eye and influence of Dagobert, she tells her first falsehood, in concealing the fact that her grandmother was a Jewess. How she longed to get back to the heath where she had nothing to hide, and where everybody was her friend. Just at this time, the scientists, being in such high honor, Dr. von Sassen as their leader is received into the evening circles of the prince, who was one of their chief patrons; and into this courtly circle little Prinzesschen accompanies her father and is kindly received by the old princess; here some strange social dogmas are heard, as for instance, one cavalier tells another that he has succeeded in getting rid of his vicious horse at a good price, having sold it to a banker's son, whom he had just heard had been thrown by it. Some one inquires if the injury was serious? "What!" he exclaims, "a serious injury to a fellow like that, of robust burgher blood? No, he has too much of the rough earth in his composition, which cleaves naturally to it, and is not so easily hurt; but had it been one of our set which had received that fall, with the peculiarly constituted body of a cavalier, he would assuredly have broken his ribs, and breathed out his noble soul towards heaven." Yet the noble soul of a cavalier had not prevented his playing a mean jockey trick, in getting rid of an unmanageable horse by concealing its defects.

Among other mark-worthy characters from this series of photographs from real life, is that of the old book-keeper of the Claudius firm. He is first introduced to the reader as overheard by Ilsa and Lenore, early in the morning, singing a devotional psalm; they were taken by surprise, being unaware that they had so near a neighbor. Ilsa listened to the beautiful words, while one verse was sung, with folded hands and partly closed eyes; when the second was commenced, she turned and looked at Lenore, nodding her approbation of his piety; but when another and another verse were added, even to a sixth and seventh, Ilsa's righteous but wholly practical

soul was vexed. "Truly," she broke out, "our Lord God must have time indeed to listen such a while to that singing—but thereto, I think he has not made the beautiful precious morning hours!" And she turned with renewed vigor to her sweeping, as if to make herself amends for the lost moments. This persevering psalmist proved to be an old style Lutheran who had become estranged from his only daughter, because she had preferred marrying and remaining in Germany, when he had set his heart upon her going out to India as a missionary. Though an amateur florist, in which vocation he soon learned that every plant must have its special treatment, that every class needs different degrees of heat, moisture and sunshine; and that after all each could be but itself; that a lily could not be changed to a pink, or a passion-flower to a daisy; that though he could by culture, to some extent, vary color and form, yet he could not destroy the original natural tendency of a rose to be a rose, a dahlia to be anything else than what nature had made it; yet, in dealing with the far more complete texture of the human soul he would fain force all into one shape and quality.

Ernst Werner comes to us with an entirely different subject in *Ein Held der Feder*. Here we have an attempt of a German author to try his hand at the unfolding of a character educated under the American system, though of German birth. Jane Foster's father was an emigrant from the Rhine country, settled in a city on the banks of the Mississippi. He had been once imprisoned, and again imperilled on account of his active participation with the radical progressionists of his native land. He had left his country in anger, and with disgust at what he conceived to be the injustice with which he had been treated; and had come to the "land of freedom," desiring to forget his home and make a new life for himself and family in the western hemisphere. But his wife was what the author calls "a real German woman, given to sentiment, tears and the making of scenes." Attached above all to her country, and who subsequently dies of home-sickness, aggravated by the loss of her young son, who was mysteriously separated from the family just as the steamer left the wharf

at Hamburg. Of this child they never heard more, though every effort had been made through the agency of friends and public notices to learn his fate.

Mr. Foster had anglicized his original name, as many German emigrants do in this country, a sort of tacit tribute to the general inaptness of the people to rightly pronounce names of foreign origin. He had prospered in his new home, made money, and was more than grateful to the land and people which had opened up to him such opportunities after his disastrous experiences at home. This enthusiast for liberty took pains to rear his daughter in his own sentiments, and adopted for her the American system of education; to which she responded by growing up self-reliant, well-poised, cool in temperament, business-like in manners. Meeting unexpected events with equanimity; engaging herself, without consultation with any one, to a junior member of a business firm, and in a passionless, but perfectly reasonable manner, decides that the marriage must be postponed—because her father is sick and cannot long survive, and in the interim, Henry can make use of the time to accomplish an intended business trip to Europe. The lover once dismissed with friendly assurances that she shall keep her engagement, she turns to the care of her sick father; gives him all her attention; performs every duty like a trained nurse; but with no disturbing outburst of feeling. But do what she will there is still a mysterious cloud over the old man's brow. Jane thinks it is her engagement. No; that is satisfactory. He speaks of his long dead wife; and Jane cooly reminds him how often she troubled and wearied him; he admits that she had—but adds, "Yet she was to me what you can never be to your husband." The daughter is astounded. What could he mean to compare her—the sensible, educated, reliable young lady with the wearisome, tearful dead mother? At last the mystery is out; the poor old man can bear it no longer. "Jane," he cries, "I would give all that I possess, all my millions if I could only once again see my beloved Rhine, and die upon its banks. Your mother loved the Rhine and that was an undying bond between us—that made us one." In conclusion, he charges her,

if she would fulfil his dearest wishes after his death, to spend one year in Germany, visiting his relations, and with the special purpose of making one last effort to recover, if possible, a trace of the lost brother.

With no special inclination for the trip, Jane nevertheless starts at the earliest moment to fulfil the last request of her father. In company with her guardian—or rather financial agent, for she submits to no dictation now from any one—she speedily sets foot on German soil. Her first view of the Rhine was not enchanting. "Over all brooded the fog, weaving its grey veil around the trees and shrubs, which dim and shadowy, gleamed through it. Softly pattered down the rain, the first mild Spring rain, which appeared to revive the whole earth with its warm aromatic breath; and through the air arose those strange voices—those whispering echoes, peculiar to the rainy landscape. And amid those mist voices, far away and mysterious, toned the ebbing and flowing of the still invisible river.

"Is that the river down there?" she asked of her newly acquired German escort, Fernow.

"Yes, it is the Rhine; we are on its banks."

Miss Foster broke a twig from the willow, gazed absently at the opening buds, and threw it carelessly on the ground. Fernow tenderly lifted up the twig. She glanced at him in surprise.

"They are the first spring buds," he said softly, "I would not willingly see them perish in the mud." Jane's lips curled mockingly: "How sentimental! but indeed I forgot, we are now in Germany."

Arrived at the city of Bonn, "that nest of learning," and at the house of her uncle, Dr. Stephen, Jane is annoyed to find that the family have prepared a sort of fantastic reception, with garlands and words of welcome in evergreen; while the lackey Frederic, stands ready with an immense boquet to present to her. Now this young lady has "no nonsense" about her and by no means appreciates this floral demonstration, and especially hurts the feelings of Frederic by pretending to overlook his offering and by the slight notice she bestows upon

these preparations. In this display of American nonchalance, we think Herr Werner errs in his estimate of an American lady; for we believe, however little to her taste or sentiment it might prove, no lady, American or otherwise, would fail to recognize the intended courtesy.

But Miss Jane goes on from bad to worse. She shocks her elder relatives by pronounced opinions upon all subjects, and frightens and annoys her aunt by going out alone, and without even deigning to say where she is going. On some of these solitary expeditions she accidentally meets Herr Prof. Fernow—the savior of the Spring bud. He has eyes of *Himmelblau*, of the utterly irresistible kind, according to the generally received account of the novelists. But Miss Foster looks upon him as a weakling. He is indeed pale from close study; for he is a constant worker and almost a recluse, except that he has to go at certain hours to give his lectures at the College. But, like a great many German professors, he appears to have nothing practical about him. Jane despises his soft weak ways, and intimates to him that he is but a "hero of the pen," and this after one of his most eloquent and enthusiastic rejoinders. This stings him, for he desires her respect.

But now begins to be heard the first distant mutterings of the storm which finally broke in bewildering suddenness and power at Sedan. Then came the news that the French ambassador had left Berlin. There was thunder in the air; there were gatherings of the people in the public square; bands of students patrolled the streets at night, singing *Die Watcht am Rhine*. Friends and neighbors began to talk of who was liable to military duty, and who was exempt. One morning Jane took up the local *Zeitung;* the leading article was one splendid burst of patriotic enthusiasm, and ended with the ringing demand on all who loved their fatherland to "rally to the defence of the Rhine." The article caused an immense sensation, its author's praise was upon every tongue. Jane felt strangely moved by it, as if the appeal were a personal one to herself; she began to be infected by it. At last it leaked out that Fernow was the author. Jane wavers, but still he is only a

hero of the pen. But soon she was to see another sight. With astonishing suddenness the bookworms of the Universities drop their lexicons and pens and rush to the front of the great movement that was rising, like the irresistible ground-swell of the ocean, over all parts of the land. And many a man like Fernow, who was withering over his books, revived like a rain-thirsty meadow after a freshet, from the practical turn given to his life. On an occasion like this, when their hereditary enemy threatened, and their hallowed Rhine was menaced, the latent Germanic spirit needed little stimulus. As the old agent said "The sentiment of duty with these Germans amounts to a mania." Perhaps he would have been correct had he qualified the remark with the words "official" or "military" duty. The old house servant Frederic is called to his regiment, and to the astonishment of all, the delicate, nervous, slender Fernow, throws down the pen and seizes the sword. No advice, not even that of doctors and surgeons can prevent him. Go he will, "if he dies on the first day's march." Once gone, Miss Foster discovers that the heavenly blue eyes have not silently pleaded in vain—she admits to herself that she loves him, and has quite mistaken the sentiment which has engaged her word to her American lover.

All the time, as opportunity permits, Jane and her agent are striving to obtain information of the lost brother. They travel from place to place, and at last they come upon a train of events, which leads her to suppose that Fernow is the missing relative. In the midst of the excitement and despair which this causes her, they find themselves in the immediate neighborhood of his regiment, and prevented from proceeding on their journey by the establishment of military lines. Here, in a hurried interview, Fernow declares his love to Jane, and is rejected on the ground of the supposed relationship, without her explaining to him this insuperable barrier. Here, too, she accidentally meets with Henry, her American lover, who, in a fit of jealous rage, plans the assassination of Fernow, who is to go at night alone on a perilous service over the mountains. He takes his position, and the fatal shot is almost fired,

when he sees his intended victim set upon by a band of French skirmishers, when true to his better instincts, he cannot see a lone brave man defending himself against such odds, and goes to his relief.

In the meanwhile, Jane, who can find no messenger to send Fernow warning of his danger, determines to go herself; and while parleying with the guard, who happens to be Frederic, and who refuses to let her pass the bounds, a sudden skirmish occurs: and both he and Jane are wounded. He succeeds, however, in bearing her to a place of safety; she does what she can to aid him, but in vain. At the very last moment, she learns from the story of his life that he, not Fernow, is her brother.

The unsettled state of the country proves very distasteful to the old agent as to Henry, who, now that the fate of the brother is sealed, sees no object in remaining, and urges an immediate return to America. But Jane begins to speak of waiting to share the fate of war with *her* countrymen and has been heard to call Germany "My country." She delays preparations; is not quite ready; and at last peace is proclaimed and the regiments come marching home. Among them, covered with honors is Fernow, improved in health and physique—lacking only one thing to complete his happiness. The sequel, it is easy to foresee,—much to the disgust of the agent, who does not like to see a fortune earned in America spent in Germany, Jane informs him that she has decided to remain, and become Frau Professorin Fernow—offering to give her late lover a large fortune in consideration of her breach of contract—which offer was indignantly declined. "Ah!" said the old man, "Jane was lost to us the moment she set her foot on this poetic soil; it is shameful, and that accursed Rhine over there is answerable for all."

That the peculiarities of German blood are not easily eradicated is patent to ordinary observation. The Englishman or Irishman soon becomes absorbed into the body-politic, and the second generation are "more American than the Americans;" while the Germans, by their constantly recurring festivals of home origin, their observance of national and family anniversaries, with their frequent habit of costuming

for balls and parties in garments, reminding them of their beloved Swabia, Bohemia or Westphalia, keep up those tender recollections which bind them to their native land and their relatives there. Whether from Berlin or Vienna, from the Danube or the Rhine, every German family strives to keep alive the memories, customs and speech of their fatherland. The late simultaneous effort made over nearly the whole United States, to secure the introduction of the German language as a study in our public schools, is a strong corroboration of this ineradicable love of the old land, which Herr Werner has very successfully delineated in his *Hero of the Pen.*

If there is the remnant of a nation which holds in its bosom a still more fiery, if not more enduring patriotism than the German, it is one of her near neighbors—Poland. And this proximity has not been without its influence on the former. In noticing the effect which geographical position has had upon many of the German novelists; not only in the subject matter but in the manner of treating certain subjects, we could not very well overlook the last work of Werner's *Veneta.* It is probably known to most of our readers, that in the desperate efforts to recover their nationality, the leaders of the Polish people have hesitated at no means to accomplish that end, probably believing that the end justified all means. Is the picture of a charming successful *intrigante* needed for a German novel, it is reasonably sure to be embodied in the person of a Polish countess or princess. And such high titles are astonishingly abundant in these minute European subdivisions. And these intriguants sometimes take very questionable means of aiding their countrymen—not an uncommon one has been for some beautiful, fascinating Polish lady to capture, by her graces and skilful diplomacy, a dull-headed German count or baron, possessed of a goodly estate, marry him, and henceforth spend her days in using her position to facilitate insurrectionary movements in Poland. This, if the German husband shuts his eyes completely, may exist with very polite, even comfortable, social relations between them; but if the husband is either timid, or unexpectedly proves to have opinions, or too much love for his wife to wish to see

her endangered, then comes trouble, for the Polish woman will stand by her nation when the choice must be made. Open rupture in such marriages is rather the rule than the exception, because there is a certain degree of risk connected with all these political movements, however secretly they appear to be undertaken, not only risk to those actively engaged, but these often, by their affiliations, involve in danger innocent persons.

But when, as in *Veneta*, a Polish princess becomes, through her marriage to a German baron, the executrix of a large estate during the minority of her son; when as with the widowed baroness Nordeck, she repulses and almost repudiates her eldest son and heir, "because he is German and looks like his father;" we perceive there may be a dangerous and cruel side, even to the beautiful sentiment of patriotism. The blond-headed Waldemar—was put out of his mother's heart, which was filled with joy at seeing that her second son, Leo, was a "true Morinsky." Waldemar was sent away to school —his home, which he saw but at rare intervals, made distasteful to him, and kept upon his travels even beyond his majority, that the Baroness may have uninterrupted control of the revenues of the estate and the uses of the domain. She has turned away all the German tenants, and put the farm lands into the hands of creatures of her own; she has made the castle a rendezvous for political insurgents; stored the cellars with arms, and keeps up a treasonable correspondence with her countrymen over the border. Instead of improving the estate, or even keeping it from ruinous decay, all the revenues have been wasted in aiding unsuccessful revolts at Warsaw or Cracow.

At last, when three or four years past his majority, Waldemar responds to the repeated calls and warnings of his father's old attorney and administrator, Herr Frank, and decides to come to Wilicza and assume his rights as heir and master of the estates, he is met with cold politeness by his mother who still hopes to keep a hand upon the reins. But, German like, when once aroused, Waldemar means to be thorough. He commences to disentangle the accounts; to restore the neglected roads; to look after the strange tenantry; and at last to explore the

closed portions of the castle. By degrees he learns how his revenues have been worse than squandered, and the Nordeckian estate rendered "suspected" by the government as a rendezvous for all sorts of political refugees, and particularly as a depot for arms. He insists on reform. He compels the removal of the arms, and demands the promise of a cessation of the treasonable correspondence. This is more than the Baroness will submit to, and prefers to leave the castle, and go to her brother on a neighboring estate. After such a long rule she cannot bear to see Wilicza in the process of Germanization. In this work Waldemar is almost alone; he has no friends among the tenantry, no one remembers his father, except Herr Frank and his late tutor, now cherished friend, Prof. Fabian. Herr Frank has a daughter Gretchen, a good, sensible girl, but who fully appreciated her own best qualities. Her suitor is one Herr Assessor Hubert, who acts as a detective for the government, and whose official eye has been spying out the late suspicious proceedings at the castle. He is one of those official martinets, not uncommon in Germany, to whom the sundering of a piece of red-tape is a crime for which the whole calendar of virtues could not atone. He is full of blunders too, and stupidly arrests Waldemar and Fabian, on the former's own grounds, as suspected emissaries from Poland, and brings them to Herr Frank's house for safe-keeping; where, unfortunately for him, Gretchen falls in love with the Professor and subsequently dismisses Hubert in favor of the learned author of the *Geschichte des Germanenthums*.

The delight in titles, though not peculiar to the German nation, is carried to its greatest extreme in that country, and it is stretched and extended so as to cover all the near relations of the happy recipient, whom it is customary to continually address by his title, in preference to his name, even in friendly conversation, and to extend the same courtesy to his Frau, and usually to mention the fact of such honor being possessed, in introducing his daughters. The addressing of the wife by the husband's military or naval title, for instance, sometimes produces very curious and amusing combinations of ideas. Assessor Hubert is a representative man of the title-loving species.

Fabian says to him interrogatively: "And you have really resigned the State's service, Herr Assessor?" "In eight days" replies Hubert, "but in regard to the title you give me Herr Professor, you will allow me to correct you. I———" here he made an artistic pause; longer even than that which preceeded his declaration of love to Gretchen; then looked around upon his friends, as if he would prepare them for a communication of the greatest importance, breathed deep and completed his sentence, while a smile of incommunicable happiness and pride suffused his countenance: "I have been since yesterday, *Regierungsrath!*" An office, be it observed, without salary.

"God be thanked—at last," said Gretchen: with an air of mock gratitude. But the Regierungsrath was in too exalted a frame of mind to notice the touch of irony in her tone; he stood now high above all slights experienced as Assessor—he forgave everybody; even Gretchen for marrying his rival, and the government which had so long failed to recognize his merits.

Soon after the Baroness Nordeck had quitted Wilicza, a fresh attempt is made to incite a Polish rising. Many had previously failed and always most disastrously for the participants. This was no exception to the rule; the regular troops met the insurrectionists near the German border, Waldemar's brother Leo was killed, and his uncle who was the leader, was taken prisoner, and as a greater punishment to a man of his condition, sentenced to exile for life in Siberia. His daughter Wanda, to whom Waldemar had been attached since his boyhood, determined to share his fate if the permission of the government could be obtained. No arguments could move her. Her father must be free, or Waldemar must see her depart for that desolate land.

Made desperate by this determination, Waldemar at once decides to try and effect his uncle's release. A devoted servant who had already tried to effect the same object, had been taken and shot—but "that happened," Waldemar said, "because though he had devotion, enthusiasm, and courage, he had neither patience nor coolness, nor decision at the right

moment." Waldemar is unsuspected, being known as an ardent German. He does not, like an ancient knight errant, hotly storm the fortress prison single-handed, but he makes all the preparations for rapid flight wisely, and then approaches the successive guards on duty with a golden key, such as has elsewhere opened prison doors. Fabian and Herr Frank—being needed to furnish relays of horses at a certain point, are in the secret. While this is going on, Fabian, unused to concealments, and Herr Frank naturally lively and social, betray to the watching eyes of Gretchen, that something very important is on their minds. She broods over it, puts this and that together, and readily guesses the subject of their anxiety, but feels wofully aggrieved that her husband should keep a secret from her—she, who had but lately told her father that "*Emil ist einer von den weniger männer die es begreifen was sie an ihrer Frau Haben.*" So she gets up a scene, accuses her husband and father both of having secrets from her. "The Poles, she says, trust their wives and daughters; but we German women who stand at the head of every progressive movement, you do not trust us; it is "*himmelschreien.*" Her vexation extends itself to the innocent cause of her annoyance, and she exclaims against the Polish women that they are quite unreasonable in their national fanaticism—"like Countess Wanda, who will not marry Waldemar because he is a German," and she adds, "I would have married my Emil if he had belonged to the Hottentots"—not being quite clear in her own mind what the Hottentots are like.

In the end, however, after Waldemar has rescued her father, and the Baroness arranges to accompany him to the safer protection of England, Wanda does consent to marry the German. His mother at last recognizes so much of her own spirit, though so differently directed, in her eldest son, as to become reconciled to him—after a fashion; for she yet affirms, though he has saved her brother, that they would certainly come into collision if they lived in each other's presence daily.

The old father of Wanda has not much faith in the mixed marriage proposed. He had seen too many of them; and he

says to Waldemar "Believest thou yet that a Nordeck and a Morinsky can find happiness with one another?" And Wanda herself repeats the idea in another form: "You will need much forbearance with me; for I cannot altogether relinquish what has so long been dear and sacred to me. Tear me not quite loose from my people: part of my very life is rooted with them. And the Baroness adds: "Perhaps Wanda who is young will learn to repress her national instincts, which with us who are older is impossible." But Waldemar's German faith in the power of love triumphs over all doubts; and the Nordeck and Morinsky repeat the old experiment.

Of course our German friends, in their comprehensive grasp of materials for fiction, could not fail in some shape to touch upon the woman question. In many of their modern novels there are more or less direct references to the "emancipation" theory, as they denominate what is here usually understood by "woman's rights." Usually this subject is introduced in the playfully sarcastic description of some feminine oddity who would certainly only misrepresent the progressive theory in this country, as we suspect it does in their own. Of the more elaborate attempts to treat this question seriously under the disguise of fiction is the work entitled *Ein Arzt der Seele*. This is the work of a conservative who has not chosen to discuss the question on its merits; but has unwisely mixed in, on the one side, a flavoring of atheism, and on the other, private immortality.

The essential mistake of the book is that of making the heroine too exceptional a creature: Ernestine has been ill-treated and physically abused by her father, because she was a girl, when he desired a son; and all her childish troubles and sufferings were mainly attributable to the same fact. Her abusive drunken father has intended to leave his large fortune to his brother, as his child was "only a girl," but the family physician, taking advantage of a moment of remorse, induces the dying man to change his will in favor of Ernestine, making, however, his brother her guardian. This uncle invents a new crime. In the hopes of eventually procuring her fortune, he enters systematically upon a system of training for his ward,

calculated to weaken her body and to distort her mind, so as to make her unattractive; in hopes that thus she would never be sought in marriage, and he could continue in the control of her wealth. He commences by destroying her childish religious faith; he continues to instruct her in all that kind of learning most unusual for women — particularly natural physics; to induce her, by flattering her pride and ambition, to study unremittingly, on very slight diet, with absolutely no recreation, little sleep, and in absolute solitude — with the exception of himself and the necessary presence of a servant in the house.

Consequently, when at the rarest intervals and almost by accident she comes in contact with society, she naturally repels the ladies, who cannot understand her, and disgusts the gentlemen by her free expressions of pantheistic opinions, and the avoidance of all those ordinary topics of light conversation, so commonly current with young ladies. The young doctor who is made to figure as hero, and of course meant by the authoress to excite admiration, is really one of the most perfect specimens of stolid immovable arrogance of which it is possible to conceive. He is described under the phrase "magnanimous," but what meaning can be attached to that word, it is difficult to comprehend if Johannes Möellner is properly so-called.

Given a young woman of extraordinary mental power — intellectual above the level of even the most cultivated men; one who had received the highest prizes — of course under an assumed masculine name — even from the University in which Dr. Möellner was a professor; a practical astronomer and scientific practical chemist, and then to call that man "magnanimous," when he deliberately proposes in his wooing that she should abandon all this vantage ground, repudiate her books, her telescope and laboratory, and live — "only for him"! contenting herself with the ordinary routine of a German housewife's life. Möellner had gained access to Ernestine's secluded life as a physician; and the above is the method in which he proposes to become, not only a physician of the body, but of the soul also.

In this unfortunate specimen of a hero we strike very un-

expectedly upon a thoroughly Mormon idea, though it is in fact a perfectly appropriate sequence of his theory. Speaking of a Russian Countess who has startled the quiet town with her crude physical ideas of emancipation—with her train of horses, dogs and lovers; Johannes, who has just voted against admitting the pure Ernestine to a course of medical lectures, for which privilege she had applied, apologetically says in some reply to a remark on the brilliant Russian—"She too is only a woman; if she fell she owed her ruin to a man: but a man might have been her Savior"—the very doctrine of the Utah prophet.

It is not an uncommon remark among the lower class of Germans, that "their women are spoiled as soon as they reach this country." If such gentlemen as Herr Dr. Möelner abound in the upper circles, it is not strange that the lower should dread to have their patient Griselda's breathe a freer air. As an advocate of the theory that all women, no matter how intellectually distinguished, are "only women after all," it is strange that the authoress should not have perceived the inconsistency of making her lovers reason out the conditions of marriage, for, according to her idea of what is "natural," would not Ernestine have "naturally" dropped her scientific pursuits at the call of love, without being forced from her chosen studies by the well-planned persecutions of a so-called lover, aided by illness and loss of property? That this work really represents the feelings of the large majority of men in Germany, there is no doubt. But the whole argument as presented, is utterly inconsequent, because all the evils which are represented as accruing to the heroine, did not in fact arise, either from her superior attainments, mental power, love of study, or even her ambition to be independent, but was simply the result of the isolated life which had been forced upon her, unfitting her for society, and still more by the stupidity of the people about her; they seem to have been of that density of brain against which it has been said "the Gods contend in vain." They mistake experiments in sound for diabolical noises; experiments in magnetism as evidence of dealing in the black-art; astronomical observations

as an evidence of atheism, anatomical specimens as ingredients for a witch's cauldron; and the chemical laboratory as the focus point of all these iniquities; and believe that some poor soul remains restless in his grave, because a human skull finds a place upon Ernestine's writing-desk.

Nor is the tone of thought much higher at the house of the Staatsräthin, Johannes' lady mother; though the conversation is more elevated in style, it is not superior in reasoning to that of the poorer people, for it is all based upon the fundamental error that it is right and proper for one-half of the human race to assume authority over the other; instead of each and all striving in their own way to express in their lives their best—whatever that may be. Of all the infatuations that ever pride of power has wrought in the human mind, there is none more fallacious than that of supposing that happiness can result to any person by being morally coerced into the position of living out another's ideas, while repressing their own.

The hero, Johannes, is not the true physician for any soul, either man's or woman's. When that great healer of social disorder comes, he will not mass souls by classes; he will remember that though bodies may be uniformed and compelled to march all to one step, that there can be no uniform for the heart or brain. The true Physician of the soul will help each one to grow normally in the direction which their own nature indicates, and will not induce one to creep into the shade of another, like a parasite on a healthy tree, striving to draw its nourishment from that, instead of honestly depending on its own root. No cure can come till each and all learn to step on independently, but in the beautiful rivalry of unselfish fellowship. To judge of a book as a work of art only, is simply to determine whether the author has secured the ends which he proposed to himself in a pleasing and attractive manner; and by no means, to accept or reject its claims on account of any coincidence with, or opposition to one's own opinions. But judged by this plain standard of criticism, we must consider, in despite of its many attractive pages, *Ein Arzt der Seele* as a decided failure; for all the leading charac-

ters produce a contrary impression from that which the authoress impliedly admits was her intention. Even the "wicked uncle" is actuated by a better motive, namely a pure delight in science for its own sake, and love for his daughter, than is the hero in his utter selfishness. We commiserate the former in his final extremity; and cannot forget that if he has done his niece much wrong, he has with it conferred upon her the inestimable benefit of a splendid education, and habituated her to such habits of self-control, as is the great lack of ordinary training. And Ernestine, meant for a warning, is the one charm of the book, glorious while she remains the personification of pure intellect; less so, when she approaches to the arbitary standard of society. The hero instead of exciting admiration is irritating in the extreme; his rôle should have been given to a professed enemy, for self is unpleasantly perceptible through his best actions. Self-sacrifice is the true test of love, and of that he has not a particle.

That there is much talent among the modern German novelists, no one familiar with their productions will deny; but while some of them are healthy in tone, it must be confessed that the larger number are affected with that "sickness of sensibility," which must make them very pernicious to the inexperienced. Though true and sound sentiments may readily be selected here and there from almost every story, though even poetic justice is not unknown to the infringers of human and divine laws, and concluding paragraphs may contain excellent maxims, yet, every reader of mature judgment knows that these stray rays of light are no offset to the effect of four or five hundred pages of emotional analysis. Especially as the fair sinners in German novels are always represented as models of goodness, beauty and amiability. We are of those who believe that many of the reprobated French novels which deal straight out, honestly, with their plain unvarnished facts, which are truly parts of the present *comédie humaine*, are not as demoralizing as these good, dreamy, romantic, introspective sinners of German fiction.

Superfluous and incessant introspection is the rock on which the German soul is wrecked. To look upon the world

as created for only one purpose — the purpose of securing complete happiness to each individual person, is not much more moral, and not nearly so philosophical as to look upon life calmly and contentedly as a "*mauvaise plaisanterie.*" The passivity with which the Germans permit themselves to be led by their passions, without any exertion of their judgment or will, is a radical vice in their constitution. Even so great a man as Goethe admits that he gave himself up to this sort of passivity at about the period when he wrote *Werther;* afterwards justifying this weakness, under the pretext that it was a psychological experiment.

The very deeply-rooted antagonism to the nobles, to hereditary honors, to official espionage and to a theoretical love of freedom, displayed by every novelist of reputation, would argue poorly for the security of the Empire if the national temperament did not permit them to effervesce in speech or through the pen. This is the panacea for suffering German souls.

ART. IV.—1. *An Ecclesiastical History, Ancient and Modern, from the Birth of Christ to the beginning of the Eighteenth Century.* By JOHN LAWRENCE MOSHEIM, D. D. Berwick. 1819.

2. *Oriens Christianus in quatuor patriarchibus digestus, quo exhibentur Ecclesiæ, Patriarchæ, cæterique præsules totius Orientis.* M. LE QUIEN. Paris. 1740.

3. *The History of Christianity in Judæa.* By J. HOUGH. London. 1859.

4. *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* By HENRY GIBBON. London.

THE ancient saying that a prophet is not without honor save in his own country, appears to apply with equal force to religions, which, with hardly any exceptions, find their principal development in regions foreign to that which gave them birth. It might have been expected, *a priori*, that the experience of Christianity would have been different; and, in fact, the sentiment or superstition of the early Christians appears to have invested with a peculiar sanctity the spots which were the scenes of its first manifestations. But the logic of events has proved more powerful than theory; and while the entire western world is now eminently Christian, we find that not only the land of its birth, but the region in which it long maintained its highest development, has been for ages the prey of a race whose faith, and even existence were unknown until centuries after its first appearance.

The causes which led to the decline and almost total disappearance of Christianity in regions where it once ruled more

proudly than in the city of the Seven Hills itself, may be traced to various causes, some part of which existed at a period anterior to its own manifestation. One of these may be found in the peculiar character of the population. The region between the Euxine Sea and the Caspian has from a very early period been peopled by descendants of each of the great progenitors of the human race. On the banks of the Oxus was the original home of the Aryan descendants of Japheth—the broad plains of Armenia, Mesopotamia and Chaldæa were the abode of the offspring of Shem—while the Canaanite and other Hamitic races occupied the territory of Syria and Palestine. Time had, however, altered this disposition and to some extent commingled these different races. Aryan tribes in historic times dwelt side by side with the Semitic, Elamites and Medes in Persia, and also occupied most of the region commonly known as Asia Minor. Semitic races, like the Jews, Moabites, Ammonites and Idumæans,* occupied large tracts in the Canaanite territory, and one branch—the Ishmælites—overspread the whole of Arabia. The Hamitic races continued however to be largely represented, entering extensively into the composition of the Phœnicians, Assyrians and Chaldæans, besides the strong Egyptian element which for centuries had continued to leaven that portion of the country.

All these different races had been for a long period united under the government of the successive empires which for centuries previous had ruled the civilized world. They had been to some extent amalgamated by the migration to which they had been compelled by the Assyrian and Babylonian Emperors. Under the Persians they had become thoroughly imbued with the principles of Zoroaster and the doctrines of the Magi, whose influence had been intensified, after the occupation of the Greeks who made it the basis of endless discussions on every conceivable subject. This was little altered by the domination of the Romans who, in intellectual matters, rather received than conferred the tone of the learned

* Some add the Phœnicians, but whether they were properly a Semitic or Hamitic race must always be a matter of doubt.

and polished nations which they had subdued. Throughout the East, at the time of the Christian era, the Greek language was spoken, and the Grecian and Persian philosophies still cultivated.

It was perhaps for this reason that Christianity, at the outset, was committed not to the wise men of the age, but to unlearned and ignorant fishermen, Jews, of the class known as Aramœan, who were little conversant with the abstruse questions which divided the learned and were the better prepared for the reception of its simple and practical truths. But the rapid extension of the faith, after the day of Pentecost, brought into its assembly numbers of the Hellenized Jews—called in Scripture, Grecians — among whom were men of learning and intelligence, who readily lent themselves to the philosophical discussions which were so generally in vogue. It was the envy excited by the successful disputations of one of these converts—the proto-martyr Stephen—which enkindled the first great persecution in Jerusalem, and scattered the Christians throughout Palestine and Syria, where they disseminated the faith, and made converts at first among Jews only, but afterwards among the most eminent Gentiles. With the formation of a church organization of which the centre was the apostolic conclave at Jerusalem, while numerous branches and bishoprics grew up in all the provinces of Asia, and even in Greece and Italy, new questions would necessarily arise calculated to divide the Church even in its infancy. The first discussion appears to have arisen from the claims of the Jewish Christians who were still disposed to look on the Gentile converts, if not with the national intolerance, at least with a patronizing contempt, and to impose on them all the requisitions and ceremonies ordered by the law of Moses and even the Talmudic traditions. Of the first of these, the attempt to circumcise the Gentile Christians, we have a distinct account in the Acts of the Apostles. Even after this had been decided adversely to the Jewish converts, the Church at Jerusalem still maintained a claim to peculiar authority, which, though cheerfully conceded while it remained under the personal direction of the Apostles, was disputed, not

without reason, when it was deprived of their immediate supervision. Still, the Nazarene Church, as it was called at Jerusalem, consisting entirely of Jewish converts, asserted at an early period its claims to superior sanctity, which were chiefly manifested by a strict enforcement of the ceremonial law of Moses, and a rigid exclusion from all positions and offices of such Christians as were not of Jewish blood. Their constancy, however, experienced a terrible trial when Adrian, incensed at the Jewish rebellions, levelled the city with the ground and erected on Mount Zion the Roman town of Ælia Capitolina, which he expressly prohibited * all Jews from approaching. The Christians, who had taken refuge in Pella, a town of Perea, where they maintained their Church organization for sixty years,† were not able to endure this exclusion from a spot which possessed more sanctity for them than even in the days prior to their conversion, from its association with the sufferings and death of their Master and Founder. Under these circumstances they came to the bold resolution of securing their privileges by the election of a Gentile bishop and the renunciation of the Mosaic Law. But a large portion of the assembly were wedded to their own tradition and could not be brought to throw aside the ancient yoke. They accordingly schismatized and formed a sect called the Ebionites, having first a church of their own in‡ Syria, and finally taking refuge in Ethiopia or Abyssinia where these tenets are still held. Less faithful to Christ than to the law of Moses, they soon became tainted with the most pestilent heresies. Their Jewish proclivities eventually carried them so far as the rejection of the Gospels, and the manufacture of a spurious gospel of their own, the denial of the Saviour's divinity (though they allowed that he was *in a certain manner* united to the divine nature), the recognition of the ceremonial law of Moses as essential to salvation, and the absolute rejection of St. Paul's Epistles, because they taught a contrary doctrine. Ere long their moral law became equally vitiated with their doctrinal,

* Eusebius, L. iii, ch. 5. † *Ibid.*, L. iv, ch. 6.

‡ Sulpitius Severus, L. ii, ch. 444, p. 245.

and they were cut off from the fold, and soon faded from the pages of history, though traces of their teachings are still found among the benighted and semi-pagan Christians of Abyssinia.

With the Ebionites may be said to have disappeared the last traces of the Judaizing element in primitive Christianity. The Gentile converts had so rapidly increased in number as to vastly preponderate over the Jewish, and their influence was predominant in the Church. Such were their numbers that even in the first century Lucian complains of the number of Christians in Pontus; and Pliny, in his epistle to the Emperor, Trajan, asserts that the temples of the gods are almost deserted;* while Tacitus, in the time of Nero, describes the Christians then at Rome as a great multitude.† A greater danger was in store for them from the philosophical tendencies of the Greeks—especially from the doctrine styled gnosis or science, which professed to show the way to a true knowledge of the Deity. The exponents of the system adopted the Magian doctrine of two antagonistic powers or divinities, one evil and one good; but they identified the evil power with matter, and set up the vast inert mass of the universe as an existing principle, the source and essence of all that is evil in our nature. Against this they opposed the divine mind which they supposed to manifest itself in numerous emanations or *æons* which were the objects of veneration and worship. It seems strange that such a doctrine as this could have penetrated the Christian Church, but that such was the fact even in the first century, we have too much evidence to admit of doubt. It is by many supposed to have included the Nicolaitanes mentioned with so much reprobation in the Book of Revelations; and it is certain that it had already obtained such a hold even among the bishops and learned men of the Church, as to form the germ of the worst heresies which infected it in later centuries.‡

In addition to the heresies which had arisen in the Church as early as the beginning of the second century, other pecu-

* Epistle X, 97. † Tacitus, XV, 44. ‡ Mosheim, Part I, ch. 5.

liarities began to develop themselves whose mischievous tendencies continued to be felt for many succeeding generations. The Greek Christians had discovered the expediency of a general council in which disputed points of faith might be conclusively established; and the advantages of the practice were so manifest that it extended into all the provinces where the Christian religion prevailed. In these general assemblies some distinction of rank was thought necessary for the better preservation of order; and this feeling was intensified by the forced analogies which the Jewish and Gentile Christians were respectively disposed to draw between their own ministry and the Hebrew and Pagan priesthoods. Hence arose the distinction of Primates, Metropolitans and Patriarchs, which, at first adopted as a matter of convenience, soon came to be regarded as of equal importance with the originally established orders in the ministry.* A more pernicious error appeared in what was called the *double doctrine* of certain moralists, who, from their veneration for the Greek philosophy were styled Platonists and Pythagoreans. These teachers divided the moral law into *precepts* which they held to be obligatory on all classes, and *counsels* which they reserved for those who aspired to superior sanctity. The members of this last class styled themselves Ascetics or Eclectics;—they professed to discern a secret meaning in the plainest passages of Scripture, and a remote symbolism in every incident recorded in the Gospels. They prohibited to themselves the use of wine and flesh and the privileges of matrimony and commerce.† These they held were allowed by the precepts, but forbidden by the counsels. These Ascetics and their disciples as yet however observed their mortification only in private, and did not venture on attempting to distinguish themselves publicly by any acts of singularity. It will not surprise those who are well acquainted with human nature, that with these very aspirants for superior sanctity originated the system of pious frauds as a mode of extending the true religion. It is no uncommon thing for extravagance in religious profession to be

* Mosheim, Vol. I, p. 178. † Athanagoras, ch. xxviii, p. 120.

accompanied with more or less laxity of principle; and history shows this to have been in no small degree the case with the Ascetics.

"A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump:" and the influence of the Platonists and Pythagoreans was felt even in that part of the Church which rose superior to their pernicious maxims. Eminent churchmen, who would have shrunk from fraud or deception, began to consider the advantages of making sacrifices to expediency, for the benefit, as they supposed, of the faith. Rites and ceremonies were multiplied for the purpose of making the ritual attractive to the Jews and heathens. When it was perceived that the ignorant multitude were attached to their idolatry on account of the pleasures and sensual gratifications which they enjoyed at the Pagan festivals, the rulers of the Church granted permission to indulge in the like pleasures in celebrating the memory of the martyrs. In that way members were more readily converted—but coming into the faith with little knowledge and less love, the real strength of Christianity was weakened; and these very half-heathen converts formed a field in which the heresies, which in subsequent centuries distracted the Church, found the most rapid dissemination.

There were at this time three patriarchates—those of Jerusalem, Alexandria and Antioch. The Pope, or bishop of Rome, maintained a distinct jurisdiction, and was at an early period invested with a certain priority of rank but with no actual supremacy. The points of sympathy which from an early period appear to have existed between the Grecians and Orientals were however wanting in Rome; and the different modes of thinking and feeling led naturally to differences of opinion which were embittered by the assumption of the Romans and the jealousy of the Oriental Christians. The matters in dispute were often such as in modern eyes would hardly appear to justify the strong feeling which they excited. The Asiatic Christians still kept the Passover at the same time with the Jews—namely on the fourteenth day of the Jewish month—and observed Easter on the third day following, without regard to the day of the week. The Romans on

the contrary commemerated Easter on the first day of the week following the Paschal full moon. It was desirable of course that the Churches might come to some arrangement by which the indecency, or at least inconsistency, could be avoided of one part of the Christian world engaged in a triumphal festival, while the other was still observing a solemn fast: but this, which was a mere question of propriety, was invested by the disputants with the importance of a matter of faith. The Roman Church appealed to the authority of St. Peter; the Oriental Churches asserted the establishment of their practice by St. Philip and St. John. In the reign of Antoninus, an interview was held between the venerable Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, and Aruns, bishop of Rome; but it produced no effect.* Towards the end of the second century a fresh attempt was made to adjust the question between Victor, bishop of Rome, and Polycrates of Ephesus; but Polycrates, declining to relinquish his opinion unreservedly, Victor thundered forth a sentence of excommunication which the Orientals laughed at, and which even the more sober western bishops condemned. The question was finally settled by the Council of Nice, which established the usage of the entire Church: but the seeds of dissension then sown were destined to be speedily revived.

While the more superstitious were quarrelling over the observance of a festival, the learned doctors of the East were effecting serious evil by the encouragement they gave to the sect of Gnostics, of whom we have already given some account. These heretics had drunk at the fountains of Egyptian mysticism and Oriental Magism until their minds had reached a state of absolute bewilderment. One branch which had principally developed in Asia, maintained the Gnostian doctrine as to the origin of the world. They held that there were three deities: good, evil and intermediate. The last, or demiurge, they believed to have been the Creator of the world and the God of the Hebrews. Both these principles they taught that the Saviour had been sent to destroy,—

* Eusebius, L. IV, ch. xi, p. 126.

and that, of course, the Old Testament and the God whom it declared were entitled to no reverence from Christians. The Egyptian Gnostics, on the other hand, declared the existence of an eternal matter endowed with life and motion; the Saviour they held to be a compound of the eternal matter and the eternal Mind. They believed in an infinity of *æons*, of whom the principal were the Saviour, Christ, and two others, respectively styled Dynamis (power) and Sophia (wisdom). After this we need not be astonished at the various extravagances of their offshoots—the Adamites; the Cainites, who honored Cain, the inhabitants of Sodom and other sinners of the Old Testament, as saints; the Sethites, who identified the Saviour with Seth the son of Adam; the Ophites who worshipped God under the figure of a serpent; and finally the heresy of Montanus, who claimed that he was the Paraclete promised in the Gospel, and that Christ's teachings being imperfect, he was commissioned to perfect them. It is more difficult of comprehension that the last of these blasphemous absurdities was for a time received by Tertullian, one of the eminent fathers of the Church.*

Some compensation for the growth of heresy may be found in the rapid extension of Christianity itself. In the third century, although still exposed to occasional storms of persecution it was generally tolerated and formed no obstacle to civil preferment. In this century Origen christianized the Arabs,† while Gaul and Germany were converted by missionaries from Rome. This extension of the spiritual power of the Roman Pontiff increased his tone of assumption toward the Churches of the East, and ere long a fresh dissension arose on the subject of the rebaptism of heretics. The Asiatic Churches made this a condition precedent to readmission; the Roman excused it and readmitted repentant heretics by the rite of confirmation. This point was fiercely argued between the Patriarch Cyprian and the Pope Stephen; and again the

*These doctrines of the *demiourgos* and the *æons* are so similar to some of the Brahminical doctrines that it is difficult not to attribute them to a similar source.

† Eusebius, L. iv, ch. 414, p. 221.

thunders of excommunication were hurled from the City of the Seven Hills. On the other hand the Oriental Church was assailed by a set of mystic theologians called the Manichæans who endeavored to effect a coalition between the Christian religion and the doctrine of the Magi. These Manichæans carried the theories of the Gnostics to a point of still wilder extravagance than had hitherto been reached. The Old Testament they boldly asserted to be the work of the Prince of Darkness; the Gospels they likewise refused to recognize as genuine; and they manufactured a spurious gospel called Erbig which Manes, their leader, pretended to have written from divine dictation, The persecution of the Christians under Dioclesian for awhile put these heretics to silence; but with the restored peace of the Church they revived, and were one of the worst hindrances to the progress of Christianity for many succeeding generations.

The fourth century witnessed an unprecedented change in the position of Christianity. The Emperor Constantine himself became a Christian; and about the same time removed the capital of the Empire from Rome to Constantinople, which had the honor of being the first genuinely Christian City. Christianity was now taken under the direct patronage of the Emperor: and the Oriental Church especially basked in the sunshine of imperial favor. A lingering respect for Rome maintained the bishop of that See in the chief position of dignity, but his claims to supreme authority sank completely out of sight. The Emperor was now the supreme authority; and the Patriarch of Constantinople, created and appointed by him, ranked second in dignity to the Roman Pontiff, and even surpassed him in the political influence he was enabled to command. But with this sudden prosperity arose a new source of danger to the Church in the East. Although Constantine expressly tolerated all religions, it was considered a sure passport to his favor to embrace that which he had himself adopted. In consequence of this the Church was flooded with mere nominal converts, Pagans at heart, in their principles and in their views, but calling themselves Christians, because they had received baptism, and aspiring not unfrequently to ecclesi

astical positions in a Church of whose faith they were actually ignorant. With this class of converts came another scarcely more desirable; converts who were impelled by a sincere conviction of the truth of the religion they had embraced, but who, equally ignorant of its principal truths and too blindly zealous and ambitious to wait for the knowledge which they had not patience to acquire, plunged into the wildest superstitions, and, inverting the Scriptural precepts, esteemed sacrifice better than obedience. Hence arose the multiplication of the monastic orders, of the Anchorites and would-be Saints, who, like Simeon Stylites, imagined that they attained superior sanctity by long years of self-maceration and self torture. Under their influence a Church dignity became a source of worldly emoluments, the name of a bishop associated with the ideas of wealth, arrogance and power, and two false theories obtained root in the Church, which were the source of most of the evils under which she groaned for centuries later; first, that it was an act of virtue to deceive and lie, when by that means the interest of the Church might be promoted; and, secondly, that errors in religion were punishable with civil penalties and corporal tortures, etc.*

In the very height of its temporal prosperity the Church encountered the most terrible internal convulsion that it had as yet ever experienced. This was in the rise of Arianism. It seems hardly possible that this heresy could have effected the great schism that history records, had not its principles been already disseminated in various forms among the Christians of the Orient; and in fact something similar to them may be found in the heresies of the Gnostics and Manichæans, and even of the early Ebionites. Though apparently striking at the very root of Christianity, it is certain that it found disciples among very many of the most eminent doctors of the Church—the learned and pious Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, and the first Church historian, among the number. Though emphatically condemned by the Council of Nice, and by the act of the Emperor in banishing Arius from Constanti-

* Mosheim, Vol. I, p. 362.

nople, it continued to thrive. Arius disseminated his doctrines among the Goths and other barbarians, and it is undeniable that the difference in faith inflamed the animosity which afterwards led them to the overthrow of Rome. Even in Constantinople he maintained sufficient influence to procure his recall and finally to make a convert of the Emperor himself. Constantine, who, although professing the Christian faith, had deferred his baptism until his last hours, received the ordinance from an Arian bishop; and the sentence of deprivation passed at Nice was about to be revoked by a synod composed mainly of creatures of the Emperor, when the sudden and horrible death of Arius, attributed by his friends to poison and by his opponents to miraculous interposition, saved the Church from this last humiliation. On the death of Constantine and the division of the Eastern and Western Empires, Constantius, Emperor of the East, favored the Arian faction, while the orthodox or Catholic faith was maintained by his brother Constans in the West. The same distinction was observed under the succeeding emperors Valentinian and Valens, when to all appearances Arianism had become the recognized creed of the Oriental Church; but the baptism of the Emperor Theodosius, and his edict depriving all the Arian bishops of their churches and reëstablishing the ministers of the orthodox faith, proved its death-blow; and after a supremacy of over sixty years it was confined to a small sect, though, as subsequent history shows, still sufficiently powerful to effect incalculable mischief.

The division of the Empire in the early part of the fifth century was followed in the course of the same century by the total overthrow of the Empire of the West. The stronghold of the Church was now in Constantinople, throughout whose dominion Christianity was rigidly enforced, while in Western Europe it had to contend with many pagan rites and open idolatry. The disasters in the West emboldened the Patriarch of Constantinople to assert his claim with more insistence; and by a decree of the Council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451, he was conceded the same rights and honors as the bishop of Rome, and the spiritual government of the provinces

of Asia, Thrace and Pontus. By the same Council the bishop of Jerusalem was made Patriarch of Palestine; but in spite of the distinction thus conferred upon him the Patriarch of Constantinople boldly asserted his spiritual authority, not only over the Church of Jerusalem, but also over those of Alexandria and Antioch.* The Oriental Church was at this period in a condition of high temporal prosperity. Since the fall of Rome the Eastern Empire esteemed itself the sole custodian of the civilization of the world, and its subjects even arrogated to themselves the exclusive title of Romans, designating the inhabitants of ancient Rome by the contemptuous epithet, Latins. The Church, under the special patronage of the Emperor, was laden with honors, wealth and distinction; but it had no real independence,—and religion, at least among its chief dignitaries, had become a thing of naught. The very faith which it professed had become so impregnated with the disputatious philosophy of the Greeks and the mundane theories of the Persians, as hardly to be recognizable. The dignitaries of the Church, men possessed of considerable learning, exhausted their intellects in the discussion of abstruse questions whose tendency was simply to deaden the affections and sap the faith, while the furious acrimony with which these discussions were conducted bade fair in many instances to dissolve the bonds of Christian brotherhood. The favorite questions in this and the following century were on the union of the divine and human natures in the Saviour. Towards the close of the fifth century Nestorius denounced the use of the epithet Theotokos, applied to the Virgin Mary, and taught that God, the Word, and the Man, Jesus Christ, were two different persons—though connected in a mysterious manner. This was in fact a revival of the old heresy of the Ebionites. Eutyches, on the other hand, asserted the identity not only of persons but natures; declaring that the divine and human nature were combined into one in the Saviour. Pelagius went still further and denied the existence of a human nature at all, and contended that the crucifixion was a

* Mosheim, Vol. II, p. 28.

mere pageant or delusion, while another sect called the Patripassionists adopted the opposite theory and held that the sufferings of the Redemption were experienced by God the Father in His own person. All these heresies were successively condemned by the œcumenical synods; but it is a strange fact that while the Nestorians and Eutychians were banished from the empire and treated with the utmost severity, the Pelagians were tolerated and even encouraged. The Nestorians and Eutychians, (or Monophysites as they were commonly called) expelled from the Empire, extended themselves into Persia and the far East, where they made many converts. The numbers of the Church likewise received large accretions within the Empire; but these were too often superficial conversions. However, the external prosperity of the Church was now such that in the year A. D. 588, John the Faster, Patriarch of Constantinople, assembled a council in which he boldly assumed the title of œcumenical, or universal Bishop.

The Oriental Church was now about to reap the fruits of the seed which she had so long been sowing. It is well-known that the seventh century witnessed the rise of a great man who was destined to overthrow the entire Christian dominion east of the Bosphorus; but it is not so generally remembered that his principal coadjutor and assistant in the composition of the creed which he promulgated, was a Christian monk—a member of one of those very heretical sects to which the philosophical and religious disputations of the Oriental Christians had given rise.* Large numbers of his converts accrued from the heretical Christians who had taken refuge in Arabia; and as the Saracen armies pushed their conquests into the hitherto Christian regions of Syria and Armenia, they derived no little assistance from the vast bodies of Nestorians and Eutychians who had fled from the persecutions of the Patriarch of Constantinople. For these two sects of Christians the Saracens manifested considerable complacency; and the toleration, and even the protection which

* Prideaux's *Life of Mohammed*, pp. 41, 44.

they received at their hands induced them readily to abet their hostilities against these oppressors of the orthodox faith. Another sect was now added which had grown out of an attempted compromise with the Eutychians. The members of this sect were willing to recognize the distinction between the divine and human natures; but they contended that both these natures were controlled by one will—that of the Divine essence. This was styled the sect of the Monothelites, which in the seventh century became very numerous; but it was excommunicated and anathematized by the Sixth Œcumenical Synod, and its members, driven abroad by persecution, were added to the abettors of the Arabian Prophet.* With these assistants the Saracens continued their ravages until the whole of Syria and much of Armenia and Mesopotamia had passed under their control; and when in the eighth century they were themselves called upon to withstand the attacks of the Turks from the North, little remained of the great Roman Empire in Asia beyond the limited precincts of Asia Minor.

The dissensions in the Eastern Church continued to increase through the eighth century and were not unfrequently accompanied with bloodshed. One of the most envenomed of these arose about the year A. D. 726, when the Emperor, Leo Isauricus, issued an edict prohibiting the worship of images; and again in A. D. 754, when his son Constantine Copronymus assembled a council of three hundred and thirty-eight bishops who unanimously condemned not only their worship but even their use. The controversy on the subject of images had however raged fiercely for some years prior to the first of their edicts. In A. D. 712, the Emperor, Philip Bardanes, had caused a picture representing the Sixth Œcumenical Synod to be pulled down from its place in St. Sophia, and ordered all images and pictures to be removed from the churches. In proportion as the populace had lost the true

* A great number of these Monothelites took refuge in the mountain ranges of Libanus and Anti-Libanus, where they formed the sect of the Maronites, and were active allies of the Saracens. These Maronites remained Monothelites until A. D. 1182, when they joined the Church of Rome.

sense of religion they continued superstitiously attached to every relic of Paganism, and a tumult ensued which ended in the deposition of Bardanes. Leo, as we have seen, proved equally antagonistic to the worship of images, and at the time of his edict directed the removal of everything of the kind, and of all pictures except such as represented the Crucifixion. The dignitaries of the Eastern Church having denounced the worship of images, the Roman Pontiff at once declared most strongly in its favor. A civil war broke out in the Archipelago, which the Western authorities secretly fostered. The Italian powers of the Empire openly rebelled and massacred the Emperor's deputies and officers. Leo revenged himself by degrading the Patriarch of Constantinople and having all the images publicly burned, besides punishing those who used them. By the time of the accession of Constantine the Oriental bishops had, as we have seen, become sufficiently subservient to sustain him unanimously in the abolition of images. But the populace, stimulated by Italian influence, were still refractory; and in the tumults and seditions which ensued, the kings of the Lombards interfered and managed to become masters of the Grecian provinces in Italy which were subject to the Exarch at Ravenna. These were ultimately attached by Pepin to the See of Rome, and formed part of its temporal jurisdiction. The Grecian Emperors retaliated by confiscating the treasures and lands of the Church in Sicily, Calabria and Apalia, and also the provinces and Churches in Illyricum which they subjected to the Patriarch of Constantinople.* A truce was subsequently effected on the murder of Constantine and the usurpation of the impious Irene. Anxious to strengthen her hands by every means in her power she established an alliance with the Pope, and in A. D. 780, assembled a council at Nice, in Bithynia, where the acts of the Council of Constantinople were expressly annulled, and the use and worship of images formally recognized. On the deposition and banishment of Irene, the conflict broke out anew. The advocates of images were styled Iconodouli or Iconolatriæ; their opponents, Iconoclastæ and

* Le Quien, Vol. I, p. 96.

Iconomachi. With these disputes was absurdly combined a discussion as to the procession of the Holy Spirit. The Greek Iconoclasts denounced the Western Church as idolatrous; the Latins retorted with the accusation that the Greeks virtually denied the divinity of the Holy Ghost in omitting from their creed the word "*filioque*" recognizing the doctrine of the procession from both the first and second persons of the Trinity. The Greeks replied that the "*filioque*" formed no part of the original Nicene Creed, but was a spurious interpolation made by the Latin Church. It will be seen that the dispute was more about words than doctrines; but it served to inflame the passions of both contestants and accelerate the ultimate schism between the Churches. It is characteristic that while the Greek Church remained firm on the subject of the *filioque*, she, in A. D. 879, entirely yielded the point as to image worship, and held a council which reëstablished the sanctity of images. With such joy was this received that the Greek Church established a festival in honor of the decision, which is maintained by them to this day and styled the Feast of Orthodoxy.*

In the ninth century the losses of the Oriental Church in Asia were partially compensated by its extension in Europe, through the conversion of the Sclavonian inhabitants of Moravia and Bohemia by the efforts of Saints Cyril and Methodius, sent for the purpose by the Empress Theodora. This Empress has been made the subject of indefinite scandal—on no better authority, however, than that of Procopius—but her efforts in behalf of Christianity are deserving of all praise. So effectual were the teachings of the missionaries that all the efforts of Charlemagne to reduce the people of these provinces into obedience to Rome were ineffectual, and in A. D. 867, the Sclavonians and Dalmatians sent an embassy to Constantinople to announce their intention of submitting to the jurisdiction of the empire, and of embracing the Christian religion. Accordingly Grecian doctors were sent to teach and baptize them in the reign of Basileus the Macedonian.†

The reign of this same emperor witnessed another con-

* Mosheim, Vol. III, p. 335. † Constantine Porphorygenitus.

version of a power which, though at that time regarded as comparatively insignificant, was destined ultimately to become the main bulwark of Oriental Christianity. The Grand Duke of Russia had declared war against the Emperor and had levied an army at Kioff whence he was preparing to descend upon Constantinople; when, whether converted by miraculous interposition, as some claimed, or induced by presents and promises, which is the more probable, he suddenly relinquished his design, embraced Christianity and received an Archbishop sent by the Patriarch Ignatius. The Emperor and Patriarch undoubtedly appreciated the necessity of extending their dominion in Europe to replace what they were rapidly and steadily losing in Asia; for the Saracens had now overrun nearly all the Roman possessions on that continent besides threatening the southern portion of Europe itself. A prodigious number of Christians, orthodox as well as heretics, had embraced the faith of Mohammed to be secure in the peaceful enjoyment of their possessions,* and the destiny of the Queen of the Bosphorus herself already appeared to tremble in the balance.

Although the Eastern Empire had, until this period, escaped the terrible convulsions which had overthrown that of the West, yet even here literature had for a long time steadily declined. The Patriarchs of the East, to their credit be it spoken, now availed themselves of their position and influence to attract a number of learned men to the imperial city, and thus prevent the threatened extinction of letters. It was by their efforts that during the dark ages of Europe, the wisdom of the past was preserved in Constantinople. One of the most eminent of the Patriarchs to whom this was due was Photius, the learned Patriarch who directed the Eastern Church under the Emperors Theophilus and Michael III. He was aided by Leo, bishop of Thessalonica, and under their united efforts the ninth century witnessed a revival of learning which even extended its influence among the Saracens, who carefully fostered the literary culture of the regions which they had conquered.† In other respects the state of the

* Mosheim, Vol. III, p. 282.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 286.

Church under this Patriarch was melancholy to contemplate. Corruption now reigned supreme; also discord, conspiracies and other abuses—especially in the election of the Patriarch which depended entirely on the favor of the Emperor and could at any time be annulled by an imperial decree.* It was in this respect that the state of the Eastern Church was so much more fatally diseased than that in the West, where the emperors had been deprived of all ecclesiastical authority, and the Church, through all the dark cloud of superstition and ignorance that obscured her lustre, still continued to maintain a firm hold on the hearts of the people.†

This very Patriarch, Photius, notwithstanding his valuable services to the cause of learning, was himself the occasion of one of the most scandalous dissensions between the Eastern and Western Churches. In A. D. 858, he was appointed Patriarch in the place of Ignatius by the Emperor Michael, whose action was sustained by a council of the Eastern Church. The deposed Patriarch appealed to Rome. His appeal was sustained by Pope Nicolas I, who, in A. D. 862, excommunicated Photius. The Patriarch set at naught the action of the Pope and excommunicated him in return, and not only maintained his hold of the Italian provinces which Ignatius had consented to cede, but added to his See Bulgaria, which had only three years previously accepted the jurisdiction of the Roman Church. The dispute continued until the accession of Basil, who, so far complied with the demands of the Roman Pontiff as to reinstate Ignatius in his dignity, and formally degrade Photius, but continued to maintain possession of Bulgaria as an appendage to the Oriental See. On the death of Ignatius, A. D. 878, Photius was recalled to the Patriarchate, and John VIII, who was then Pope, expressed his willingness to accede to his reinstatement if Bulgaria were restored to the See of Rome. Accordingly, in A. D. 879, Pope John sent a legate to Constantinople who formally recognized Photius as Patriarch of the Greek Church; but a demand by him for the cession of Bulgaria was haughtily rejected by the

* Agobardus, Sec. xiii, p. 167. † Mosheim, Vol. III, p. 318.

Patriarch who refused to be bound by any arrangement to which he was not a party. The legate indignantly withdrew his recognition, and a fresh excommunication was thundered from the Vatican at the Grecian Patriarch, and in fact, at the whole Greek Church.* Photius not only laughed at this sentence but so far ignored the sacred character of an ambassador as to cast the legate Maximus into prison. This legate afterwards himself became Pope and his first act was to repeat the sentence of excommunication with the most bitter anathemas against the Patriarch who had treated his office with contumely.

In A. D. 886, Photius was once more degraded by the Emperor Leo, and confined in an Armenian monastery where he died A. D. 891. The schism between the churches might now, it would seem, have been set at rest; but the incensed Roman Pontiff would be content with nothing less than the degradation of all bishops and priests ordained by Photius. On the refusal of the Greek Church to concede the demand, the schism between the Churches became irreparable.

While the Oriental Church was thus occupying its time with perpetual contentions with its Western rival, heresy was rapidly propagating itself within its own domains. The Nestorians and Eutychians were increasing their numbers under the protection of the Saracens, and eventually brought into one or the other of their sects all the Christians in the conquered territories who had not adopted the religion of the conquerors. But a more dangerous adversary to the Church arose in the Paulicians. These were a branch of the Manichæan heretics residing in Armenia, who had for a long time been the object of persecution, but under the Emperor Nicephorus had been restored to their privileges and religious liberty.† Under Michael Caropalatus, and Leo, the Armenian, the persecution broke out afresh, and all who were caught and refused to abjure their faith were subjected to capital punishment. They rebelled and massacred the bishop of Neo-Cesaræ, and the emperor, magistrates and judges. They then took refuge with the Saracens,‡ but after a time, thinking that the indignation against

* Le Quien. Vol. I, p. 103. † Cedrenus, Vol, II, p. 480. ‡ Photius, L. i.

them had subsided, returned to their homes. Immediately on their return a fresh edict was issued against them by the Empress Theodora, and over one hundred thousand of them put to death in the most barbarous manner. Those who escaped fled to the Saracens where they were hospitably received, and built for themselves a city which they called Tiberia. Infuriated with their persecutors, they promptly made a league with the Saracens, and for the remainder of the century, urged a bloody warfare against the Greek Empire and the Christian Church.* Such, in fact, was the character of their heresy that they hardly deserved to be styled Christians at all. They believed in the doctrine of a *demiurgos;* refused to celebrate the Eucharist; contemned the cross; rejected the old Testament; and excluded presbyters and elders from the administrations of the Church. Still, even in banishment, they contrived to spread their pernicious doctrines not only through the East but even in Bulgaria; and the Christian Church might well feel itself surrounded on all sides by enemies.

The conflict between the Greeks and Paulicians continued to harass the Eastern Church until the twelfth century. It is mentioned by Anna Comnena, in her great historical work,† and elicited the efforts of the emperor, Alexius Comnenus, for the reclamation of the heretical sect;‡ but this failing, the Paulicians finally took refuge in Europe where they were afterwards known as the Albigenses.

While these disputes were raging between the orthodox Churches, the Nestorians were rapidly extending their form of Christianity into territories hitherto unconverted. A large body of them had introduced their faith into the regions of Tartary and obtained so much power that in the tenth century their Church was formally recognized and established in Koreit, one of the most easterly provinces. The first bishop of this province had, prior to his consecration, been familiarly known as presbyter, which was abbreviated into Prester, John, and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction which he had established continued

* Cedrenus, Vol. II, p. 541.

† Alexiados, L. v, p. 108.

‡ *Ib.*, L. xiv, p. 337.

for upwards of two centuries, and was a subject of western fable for a much longer period. The orthodox faith was also extended by the complete conversion of Russia, whose reception of Christianity in the preceding century had been only partial. In A. D. 961, Wladimir, Grand Duke of Russia, obtained the hand of Anna, sister of the Emperor Basileus II, in marriage; and in A. D. 987, received Christian baptism with the name of Basileus. All his subjects followed his example, and to this day Basileus and the Grand Duchess Anna are regarded by the Russians as saints, and their tomb at Kioff is held in especial veneration. Christianity was still further extended in this century by the conversion of Gylas, a Turkish chief, and his subjects. Sarolta, the daughter of Gylas, married Geysa, chief of Hungary, and under her and her son Stephen this region was also added to the list of Christian territories.

The idea of a crusade to recover the Holy Sepulchre from the Saracens had been started in this century by Pope Sylvester II, but it was not carried into effect until nearly a century later, when Peter the Hermit, in A. D. 1093, assembled the first great army which was intended to march on Jerusalem. The story of the Crusades belongs properly to the history of Europe. It is certain that no real sympathy was felt for the movement by the Oriental Christians, and that although they had themselves suffered severely from the inroads of the Saracens, their resentment towards that nation yielded in intensity to their aversion to the Christians of the West. The Greeks despised the European Christians, both Franks and Latins, as barbarians, and hated them on account of the claim to supreme ecclesiastical authority asserted by the Church of Rome. To the half-trained hordes who accompanied Peter the Hermit they rendered no assistance whatever, but on the contrary frequently attacked them in disguise, and openly rejoiced when a pyramid of their bones arose in the desert to mark the sad result of their expedition. To the army of Christian knights and princes who took their route through Constantinople, it was necessary however to extend a reluctant hand of followship and Alexius Comnenus, the reigning emperor, made great show of welcoming them and of affording them a free passage through his

dominions. There can be little doubt however, that he privately allowed every obstacle to be put in their way.

The title of Prester John which had been assumed by the bishops of Koreit was borne after his death by each of his successors; and in the twelfth century the then Prester John, whose true name was Ungchan, achieved the conquest of the portion of Tartary bordering on Kathay or China, and became its king. The glowing accounts which he wrote of his kingdom in a missive to the Pope created an unprecedented sensation in the West; and the unexampled magnificence of Prester John's court was a favorite tradition among the people of Europe, not only after the annihilation of his dominion by Genghiz Khan, which occurred in the same century, but after its very locality had become a matter of uncertainty. With the conquest of Genghiz Khan, in A. D. 1187, Christianity disappeared from eastern Asia, although for a short period afterwards it maintained a lingering existence in Tangut, Prester John's capital. This same year witnessed the reconquest of Jerusalem, where a Christian government had been maintained since the time of Godfrey of Bouillon, owning fealty to the Latin Church, which may partially account for the antagonism of the Greeks. When first threatened in A. D. 1146 and endangered by the Saracen conquest of Edessa, a second crusade had been organized for its relief headed by Conrad III of Germany, and Louis VII of France; but most of their forces perished, partly by the perfidy of the Greeks. The conquest of Jerusalem was followed by that of the Saracen emperor in A. D. 1214, and with that conquest began the formation of a new empire which was destined to prove a more deadly foe to Christianity than that of the Saracens themselves.

The Oriental Church does not appear even at this crisis to have been aware of its danger, which could have been averted only by a determination on the part of the Christians to ignore all doctrinal differences and unite to oppose a common bulwark to the encroachments of the advancing enemy. The imperial house of the Comneni and the Patriarchs exerted themselves vigorously to keep alive the learning which was elsewhere dying or dead; but they still wasted the time and

exhausted the strength of the Church in futile controversies, not only with the western doctors, but among themselves. One of the controversies in vogue at the time was: "In what way it was or might be affirmed that an incarnate God was at the same time the offerer and the oblation?"* When the Emperor, Emanuel Comnenus, finally endorsed the popular notion on the subject, many eminent men who had committed themselves to the contrary view were at once deprived both of honors and employments.† In like manner, when the Patriarch, with the Emperor's sanction, had promulgated his own exposition of the test, "My Father is greater than I," capital punishment was forthwith awarded to all who presumed to differ from it.‡ The Emperor Andronicus wisely prohibited these useless and mischievous speculations. An act, however, which manifested the childishness which now characterized the doctors of the Oriental Church, was the formal anathema of the God of Mohammed, whom the doctors insisted to be described in the Koran *as a solid sphere.*‖ This absurd misrepresentation of a passage in the Koran was entirely ineffectual as far as its purpose was concerned, and only subjected the Christians to the ridicule of the Moslems.

In A. D. 1271, a temporary reconciliation was effected between the Eastern and Western Churches, which was, however, repudiated in A. D. 1284, by the Emperor Andronicus. This last division was soon rendered irreconcilable by an act of violence on the part of the Latin Christians, for which it is difficult to find an excuse. In A. D. 1293, the French and Venetians, under pretence of a crusade, sailed for Constantinople, which they took by storm, and replaced on the throne Isaac Angelus, who had been expelled by his brother Alexius. In the following year Isaac and his son were killed in a sedition, whose leader, Alexius Ducas, was placed on the throne. The chiefs of the crusade again seized Constantinople, expelled Ducas, and elected Baldwin, Count of Flanders, to the

---

* Mosheim, Vol. III, p. 101.

† Nicetas *Chronicles*, L. vii, Sec. x, p. 112. ‡ *Ibid.*, Sec. vi, p. 113.

‖ *Ibid.*, L. vii, pp. 113, 116.

imperial seat. This high-handed measure naturally incensed the Greeks, who refused to acknowledge any emperor but of their own choice, and elected Theodore Lascaris, who held his imperial Court at Nice in Bithynia. The usurpation of the Latins was not of long duration, for in A. D. 1295, Michael Palæologus, the successor of Theodore, recovered Constantinople and compelled Baldwin to flee into Italy. Thus ended the usurpation; but the utter disunion thereby effected between the Greek and Latin Christians was destined to bear fruits in the succeeding centuries proving fatal to one of the antagonists and seriously endangering its rival.

In the fourteenth century Timur Beg, or Tamerlane, appeared with a swarm of Tartars and waged fierce war against Christianity in every shape and in every place. But the Eastern Church, with the fatuity which appeared to presage its decline, paid little heed to these warnings but continued to occupy itself with religious controversies. Among the extravagant associations of mysticism which existed at this period, was a sect known as the Hesychists, or Quietists, who had formed an assemblage on Mount Athos for the purpose of "ecstatic contemplation." The doctrine of these Quietists was that the perfection of religion could be attained only by absolute abstractions from all human sentiments and a spiritual communion with Deity, by means of a celestial light concealed in the deepest recesses of the mind. Accordingly, they were accustomed to sit for hours each day motionless, with their eyes fixed on their abdomens, at a point in the region of the navel. During this period of contemplation they pretended that a divine light issued from the navel and revealed to them the secrets of the Deity.

A progress through the Oriental Churches was undertaken about this period by Barlaam, Bishop of Calabria. On his arrival at Mount Athos he took occasion severely to reprehend the extravagance of these fanatics whom he contemptuously designated as ομφαλοψυχοι, or navel-souled. It would seem as if no sane person could have differed from him; but strange as it may appear, Gregory Palamas, bishop of Thessalonica, defended their cause with zeal, and in A. D. 1341, in-

duced the Emperor Andronicus to call a council at Constantinople by which Barlaam was condemned and obliged to return to Italy. The contest was, however, renewed by another bishop, Gregory Acondynus, who espoused the cause of Barlaam, and in opposition to Palamas denied that the Deity dwelt in an eternal light distinct from this essence, and that such a light was seen by the disciples on Mount Tabor. The Quietists, or Umbilicarians, were now forgotten and the dispute raged concerning the character of the light seen on Mount Tabor, and the nature and essence of the Deity. Palamas maintained that God was encircled with an eternal light which was His energy, or operation, and distinct from His essence; and that divine operations were distinct from the divine substance. Barlaam and Acondynus on the contrary contended that the properties of the Deity were not different from the essence; and that there was really no distinction between His essence and His attributes. This dispute raged with as much fury as that between the Nominalists and Realists in the West. A second council, held A. D. 1357, condemned Acondynus, and passed severe decrees against the Barlaamites.* In this council, the Oriental Church may be said to have incorporated with its doctrines an essential element of the Brahministic theology.

In these miserable squabbles Christianity in the East was rapidly approaching the end of its career. It was already extinguished throughout Central Asia except in Kathay, or China, where some remnants of the faith still existed, to whom the Nestorian Pontiff in Chaldea sent out some missionaries with the authority of Bishops. Even these have long since disappeared, and the only trace of their existence now to be found is in some peculiar features of the Buddhists in those regions which bear evidence of a Christian origin.

The Eastern Empire was now so weakened by the assaults of the Turks who had reduced the whole of Christian Asia and the Southern Sclavonic provinces in Europe, that it was induced to appeal to the Western Powers for aid, and in that dire

* Cantacuzenæ *Historiæ*, L. II, ch. xxxiv, p. 263.

extremity made overtures for a reconciliation between the Churches. But the Roman Church was now in the plenitude of her power, and haughtily refused to accept any terms without the recognition by the Greeks of her doctrines of the procession of the Holy Ghost, purgatory, the use of unleavened bread at the Eucharist and the supremacy of the Pope. The Greek Church was now so enfeebled that she was ready to concede all these points except the last, but Mark, bishop of Ephesus, remained firm and refused the last concession; whereupon the Church of Rome indignantly turned away and allowed her sister Church to perish unaided.

The final blow fell in A. D. 1453, when Constantinople was taken by the Turks, one part by force, the other by capitulation. In the first portion Christianity was immediately abolished; in the other it was allowed to exist but under restrictions which were steadily increased.* The outward form of the Christian Church was not changed or destroyed; but its lustre was eclipsed, its strength undermined, and its organization reduced to a mere shadow.

In reviewing the history of Oriental Christianity, it must be clear that its fall was in a great measure owing to defects which had become inherent in its organization. That it had lost its hold on the affections of the people is manifest from the facility with which so many of them apostatized to the religion of their conquerors; and how completely it had abandoned the spirit of its Founder appears from the futile controversies in which it wasted ages, the subservient manner in which it obeyed the dictates of unprincipled emperors and the atrocious cruelties with which its own hands were sullied. There can be no doubt that its chief evils grew out of its temporal prosperity. In the West, where the Empire was shattered, and the Church forced to deal with barbarians over whom she could exercise only spiritual control, she maintained of necessity her purely spiritual character; and being, for a long time at least, altogether detached from the temporal authority, inspired the same passionate venerations in her barbarian converts which in their days of heathenism, they had

* *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman*, Tome VII, pp. 41, 46, 54.

felt for their own priests. Hence through all the night of superstition which so long shrouded the Western Church, the spirit of religion always maintained its sway. Without seeking to excuse or palliate the many errors into which the Western Church fell, we cannot but recognize the existence of this spirit which preserved its utility through the darkest period. In the Eastern Church this was unfortunately wanting. At once the favorite and the tool of princes, continually gathering into its field nominal members who had no thought of abandoning their ancient Paganism except in appearance, tainted with the pernicious philosophies of Asia and Egypt, it is not strange that it eventually became a mere political element having a name that liveth while it is dead. When Christianity vanished from the East it was because its time had come. Still we should not forget that in its day it did great service to the cause both of truth and learning; that but for its fostering care, in conjunction with the apostles of Islamism, the literature which survived the darkness of the Middle Ages would never have been preserved, and in fact that it was to the learned minds which, when driven from Constantinople took refuge in the West, that Europe is indebted for the commencement of her present enlightenment.*

* An account of the present *status* of the Greek Church in the Turkish dominions and in those territories where it yet prevails, as well as of its peculiarities of ritual, &c., must be reserved for a future number.

ART. V.—1. *Harriet Martineau's Autobiography, with Memorials.* Edited by MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN. 2 volumes. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1877.

THE literary event of the year is the publication of Miss Martineau's *Autobiography.* Of the many valuable books that have appeared during the year, none in English, has excited so much literary and other interest, or will, we believe, be so widely and appreciatively read.

The literary friends of this distinguished woman were aware of the existence of the story of her life long before her decease, for it was written nearly twenty years before that event; but the rest of mankind were kept in ignorance of it, and judging from the character of the work and the criticism it has received, were not altogether prepared for it. The work is, in every respect, wholly in keeping with the character of the woman whose life it delineates with such interesting particularity and faithfulness. She could not have been unmindful of the reception her work would probably meet with among her old adversaries, political and religious, in England. She had been accustomed to calumny and detraction while living; why should she be influenced by the fear of it when dead? The *Autobiography* is the product of her mature years; written with care and deliberation in the midst of the prominent scenes she describes; and bears abundant internal evidence of having been written with a single eye to the truth. And while the author's judgment of men and women may have been biased now and then by causes which bias the judgments of other people; while her volumes may show an occasional want of taste, and possess a strong flavor of self-sufficiency—not to say egotism, qualities excusable in

autobiography—we cannot but sympathize with her frank, outspoken comments and criticisms, wishing that more people were like her in that regard, and giving credence to her statements of fact and circumstance, the *Quarterly Review* to the contrary notwithstanding.

The timeliness and forethought so characteristic of Miss Martineau in the management of her affairs, of whatever nature, were never more happily shown than in her arrangements for the publication of this her last, and in some respects, most important work. There was generally a kind of prescience, so to speak, in her judgment, which was conspicuous in her undertakings and brought to fruition her plans. As it was with her other literary enterprises so it was with the *Autobiography:* She was possessed with the idea of writing it, and felt that she must write it, too, at the time she did,—in the fullness of her powers, and under circumstances in which there was a reasonable probability that her course was run—her life-task finished. For several years previously she had had repeated warnings of something at fault with her heart; and now, at the age of fifty-two, there were evident premonitions of the failure of her sight, there being frequently recurring attacks of imperfect vision, technically, *metamorphopsia*, symptomatic of serious lesion of the retinal tissue. It was this symptom that induced her to consult a physician and ascertain precisely what her prospects for work and life were. Here, too, the forecast of her mind was most conspicuous. Had she delayed, it had been fatal, if not to the work itself, at least to the rare quality which it now possesses.

In perfecting arrangements for the publication of the *Autobiography*, after her decease, for that was her plan, her wisdom was equally manifest, both in the plan itself and in the choice of editor and publishers. The lady, Mrs. Maria Weston Chapman, to whom she devolved the final details of the publication, particularly of the Memorial volume, has amply justified the wisdom of her friend's selection; the good taste and judicious use of the materials for it, her sensible and appreciative words, and the almost faultless typography of the volumes, showing an affectionate interest in and fitness for her task. The editor

has been freely—if not rudely—criticised, justly and otherwise. This was to have been expected. Her severest critic must confess, however, that she has executed her delicate task in a manner —praises excepted—that would have received the approbation of Miss Martineau. Of Mrs. Chapman, then, it must be said: She has been faithful to her trust. If Miss Martineau shared in the fame of M. Comte's *Philosophie Positive*, in translating it, as the latter averred, Mrs. Chapman cannot but partake with her friend whatever of literary fame shall accrue to the *Autobiography* of Harriet Martineau.

The life of an individual who has fulfilled his ideal purpose, and thus justified the wisdom of Providence in his creation, is a study too profitable to be ignored or passed lightly over. Unhappily for humanity such lives are rare in the history of the race. For one who attains the stature of a perfect man or woman, who pushes up into the clear air and commanding heights of pure reason, there are millions who barely reach the average level of the multitude. Harriet Martineau was an exception to the multitude. Her altitude was higher than that which the average attains, and her vision was correspondingly clearer; for the medium through which her observations were made was unmixed with the clouds of doubt and skepticism which involve the ordinary plane of observation. She was, therefore, eminently qualified to teach; and we may rightly interpret her evident anxiety to set before the world the true history of her career as partaking less of the love of fame or of personal vanity than a commendable desire to be of service to her kind.

The high intellectual standing which we thus concede to Miss Martineau will meet with little dissent in intelligent circles. While we do not rate her a genius, she was even more than a genius—she was a WOMAN. She had character, and character is greater than genius. In point of genius she was inferior to many women of her time—to Charlotte Brontë, or George Sand. Many of her contemporaries were superior to her in literature, politics and religion; in finesse, diplomacy and statecraft; in wit, brilliancy and imagination; the power to please, to control men or parties, and to win the multitude.

These gifts are peculiar to genius, and entered not into her composition. Her forte lay in philosophy, versatility, strength of conviction, and loyalty to what she conceived to be truth and duty—in those qualities of heart and mind which give character to an individual. In these qualities Harriet Martineau was not inferior to any woman of the nineteenth century. Her pronounced antagonism to the current opinions of her day; her independence of much that is merely conventional in forms of speech, social and religious customs, but which is all the more fixed and ineradicable on that account, brought her continually into conflict with many worthy people whose prejudices are stronger than their charity, and who are rendered thereby incapable of appreciating the amplitude of a mind like hers. One must sympathize in order to appreciate; and when sympathy is wanting there is likely to be a bias which distorts or impairs the perception and leads to defective judgments. One does not like to confess that one's judgment of men and things is influenced by these causes. It is evidence of weakness which one would fain conceal from oneself, even, while one knows it is true of everybody else. Be that as it may, our author was really understood but by few and suffered detraction from many, who were thus constitutionally debarred from entering into sympathy with her aims and objects, much less her religious and philosophical opinions.

Believers in a divinity which shapes the course of individual destinies, regardless of finite wills, will find much in the life of Miss Martineau to confirm them in such a belief. The idea, of course, is not hers. It is, in fact, entirely inconsistent with her views of Providence, and at variance with those fundamental principles of philosophy in which she took so much delight, and which was the solace of her later years. In the first place, her school advantages were altogether too limited to justify the literary career to which she aspired. It appears from her own account that her school training consisted of home lessons in the rudiments of English and Latin; a two years' course with a Mr. Berry, which abruptly terminated at the age of thirteen; and a year or two at boarding-school, which ended at the age of seventeen. She describes

herself as a sickly, ill-tempered, suffering child, with a strong love of sympathy, which, however, she did not get; intensely emotional, with a bias to melancholy and religious meditations. She was thoughtful and inquiring, a voracious reader, and quick in memorizing, but so sensitive as to be wretched, and so morose as to make everybody around her ill at ease.

At the age of fifteen she was sent away to school, as before stated, chiefly because she was not a desirable child to have at home. There she made some progress in language and English literature, literary composition, etc.; but in the midst of her course of study, her father, a respectable manufacturer, failed in business, and finally died, and she, at the age of seventeen, was withdrawn from school and compelled to seek some means of helping her family and earning her own bread. Not long after this unhappy period of her life she made bold to write an essay for the *Monthly Repository*. To her delight and surprise the essay was promptly accepted and published, and the young literary aspirant encouraged to continue her contributions, which were always welcome and moderately remunerative. And later, an occasion was improved to compete for three prize essays on religious topics, all of which she won. She was now well into young womanhood and ambitious to be useful. She felt she had a mission and must fulfil it. Animated with that idea she conceived a project of writing a few tales on *Political Economy*, a subject which excited a good deal of public interest in England at that time. In this undertaking she succeeded beyond her most sanguine expectation. The country was passing through one of those industrial crises which have long been chronic in England, despite its eminent economical writers; and the intelligent reading public seized with avidity upon any treatment of the subject likely to show them a way out of their troubles. The *Political Economy Series*, therefore, had a large sale, remunerated both publisher and writer, and was the means, happily, of bringing the latter into public prominence and fairly launching her on a career as remarkable in results as it was brilliant in conception.

The experience of our author in getting a publisher for this

her first literary venture of consequence, is worth transcribing. She had pleaded the cause of her work—and one can well believe with eloquence — with one publisher after another, and each after the other pleaded the same objections: "The public excitement about the Reform Bill and the cholera. They dared not venture." At last she found a half-willing ear to her plans in the person of Mr. Charles Fox. This gentleman had agreed to take up the enterprise, but had grown suddenly lukewarm and, at the last moment, was disposed to abandon it altogether. We quote the final interview she had with him just previous to putting the work to press:

"I found Mr. Fox in a mood as gloomy as the day. He had seen Mr. James Mill, who had assured him that my method of exemplification could not possibly succeed. * * * * * * He started a multitude of objections, feared everything and hoped nothing. I saw, with anguish and no little resentment, my last poor chance slipping from me. I commanded myself while in his presence. The occasion was too serious to be misused. I said to him, 'I see you have taken fright. If you wish that your brother should draw back, say so *now*. There is the advertisement. Make up your mind before it goes to press.' He replied, 'I do not wish altogether to draw back.' 'Yes, you do,' said I; 'and I had rather you would say so at once. But I tell you this: the people want this book and they *shall* have it.' 'I know that is your intention,' he replied; 'but I do own I do not see how it is to come to pass.' 'Nor I; but it *shall*. So, say that you have done with it, and I will find other means.' 'I tell you, I do not wish altogether to draw out of it; but I cannot think of my brother going on without decisive success at the outset.' 'What do you mean, precisely?' 'I mean that he withdraws at the end of two numbers, unless the success of the work is secured in a fortnight.' 'What do you mean by success being secured?' 'You must sell a thousand in a fortnight."* That was his ultimatum.

Notwithstanding the discouraging terms and conditions which were thus finally imposed upon her, and certain that the sale of the first number of her work would not reach a thousand copies the first fortnight, no alternative was presented, and she concluded to accept them. The state of her mind during the following night is well portrayed and will find a sympathizing heart in many a struggling author:

"I set out to walk the four miles and a half to the Brewery. I

* Vol. I, p. 129.

could not afford to ride, more or less; but, weary already, I now felt almost too ill to walk at all. On the road, not far from Shoreditch, I became too giddy to stand without support; and I leaned over some dirty palings, pretending to look at a cabbage bed, but saying to myself, as I stood with closed eyes, 'My book will do yet.' I moved on as soon as I could, apprehending that the passers-by took me to be drunk; but the pavement swam before my eyes so that I was glad enough to get to the Brewery. I tried to eat some dinner; but the vast rooms, the plate and the liveried servant were too touching a contrast to my present condition; and I was glad to go to work, to drown my disappointment in a flow of ideas. Perhaps the piece of work that I did may show that I succeded. I wrote the Preface to my *Illustrations of Political Economy* that evening; and I hardly think that any one would discover from it that I had that day sunk to the lowest point of discouragement about my scheme. At eleven o'clock I sent the servants to bed. I finished the Preface just after the Brewery clock had struck two. I was chilly and hungry; the lamp burned low, and the fire was small. I know it would not do to go to bed, to dream over again the bitter disappointment of the morning. I began now, at last, to doubt whether my work would ever see the light. I thought of the multitudes who needed it—and especially of the poor—to assist them in managing their own welfare. I thought too of my own conscious power of doing this very thing. * * * * As the fire crumbled, I put it together till nothing but dust and ashes remained; and when the lamp went out, I lighted the chamber candle; but at last it was necessary to go to bed; and at four o'clock I went, after crying for two hours, with my feet on the fender. I cried in bed till six, when I fell asleep; but I was at the breakfast-table by half-past eight, and ready for the work of the day."*

The *Series* was, as we have said, entirely successful. Before the day came which was to end the experiment, so far as this publisher was concerned, if one thousand copies had not been sold, the demand for the work reached five thousand copies! Her prayers had been answered. "From that hour," she writes, "I have never had any other anxiety about employment than what to choose; or any real care about money." Henceforth her course was clear. However difficult it might prove in the end, there was no doubt about its bearings. It might be up steeps and over crags, but no clouds concealed it. It might be rough and thorny, but it was not obscured by mists. As she contemplated, while walking in the solitude of her

* Vol. I, p. 180.

garden, the prospects of the future, which the success of her great enterprise had opened before her, she was filled with no feelings of exultation, but rather of humility. "There was immense relief in this," she says; "but I remember nothing like intoxication; like any painful reaction whatever. I remember walking up and down the grass plat in the garden feeling that my cares were over."

And so, indeed, her cares were over, so far as anxiety for work, or opportunity for usefulness was concerned. From this time she had but to devise plans, and lay down her commands; scores were ready to execute them. Instead of seeking friends, friends sought her. Instead of begging the sympathy of publishers in her literary schemes, publishers craved the favor of serving her, vieing with each other for the privilege of publishing anything she might be disposed to write. She had now, in her thirtieth year, fairly launched her frail bark on the flood of that mysterious tide in her affairs, which was to bear her on to fortune.

We linger upon the events of this period of Miss Martineau's career, because they are more than ordinarily interesting. The flood tide in the affairs of men is the critical period of their life; and their future is largely determined by the use they make of the opportunities which present themselves at this juncture in their careers. Success is more dangerous to some people than defeat. The effect of the homage which poor human nature pays to it, is, on many like the sun beam on the tender sprout; on others, it is like a shower on the growing grain, bringing it forward to maturity. The homage which was everywhere lavished on Miss Martineau, at the full tide of her prosperity, had the effect of fertilizing her genius and rendering more fruitful the labor of her life. A tithe of the flattery which she received from distinguished sources would have turned the head and been the ruin of a mind less steadily balanced than hers. "The entire periodical press, daily, weekly, and as soon as possible, monthly, came out in my favor," she writes; "and I was overwhelmed with newspapers and letters, containing every sort of flattery." The "Diffusion Society" would pay her any price for her series. Offers

of money, of advice, or suggestions from distinguished sources were many. Members of Parliament sent her blue-books, and editors sent her papers, until her mail became so cumbrous that the post-master was obliged to request her to send for her mail, "for it could not be carried without a barrow!"

The secret of Miss Martineau's literary success does not lie in her personal popularity, for popular she never was, and never could have been. It will be found in the peculiar quality of her mind. Personally, she was very unpopular. Lord Brougham expressed the feeling of his class in respect of her, when he exclaimed at hearing her name mentioned: "Harriet Martineau! I hate her. She has opinions." So also, did the Tory press when it caricatured her—in *Fraser*. Her positive convictions on all subjects in which she sympathized —and her sympathies were world-wide—inflexible courage and unfaltering rectitude, made her by no means an agreeable companion, albeit her nature was preëminently sociable, kind and helpful. Her perfect uprightness was a perpetual reproof to men and women like Brougham and lady Morgan; her heresies were a cause of estrangement to professed Christians of every persuasion, everywhere. But she was in harmony with the spirit of her age, and became the exponent and interpreter of its best thought and noblest feeling. The timeliness of her works gave them an interest to the utilitarian public; and no utilitarian public ever allows personal prejudice to stand in the way of its pecuniary interests. Hence the success of Miss Martineau's literary labors.

We have given an instance of her struggle to get a publisher for her *Series;* and it is but just to the subject to give as a counterpart to that affair, an instance of the struggle of publishers to secure her MSS. Soon after our author's return from America it became known that she would write a book embodying her views of that country. She had barely reached her rooms in London when she was literally besieged by rival publishers. Even before she arrived home many letters from these enterprising gentlemen had been received by her, making liberal offers for a book on America. Mr. Murray had intimated a wish to publish her travels; and even

while in this country Mr. —— whom she styles "the head of the redoubtable piratical publishing house in New York," bantered her to name a price for a book. On reaching her rooms in London, as before mentioned, an amusing competition for the publication of her proposed book, began:

"First Mr. Bentley bustled down, and obtained entrance to my study before any body else. Mr. Colburn came next, and had to wait. He bided his time in the drawing-room. In a few minutes arrived Mr. Saunders, and was shown into my mother's parlor. These gentlemen were all notoriously on the worst terms with each other, and the fear was lest they should meet and quarrel on the stairs. Some friends who happened to call at the time was beyond measure amused."*

The scene that followed it is impossible to compress into a brief paragraph, and no pen but Miss Martineau's could adequately portray it. There are many good people in this world who can conceive of no motive in authorship but money, or fame. They cannot imagine an author writing for the love of it, or for the reason, as Miss Martineau says was hers, that they cannot help it, or that they had something to say and must say it. Miss Martineau explained to these gentlemen at the outset that money was not her chief object. But it was impossible for the first two gentlemen to believe her sincere in the declaration. Hence they bantered her to name a sum—her price; and both assured her that they would give her for her work more than any other publisher.

Mr. Bentley "offered her most extravagant terms for a work on America, and threw in as a bribe, an offer of a thousand pounds for the first novel" she should write; Mr. Colburn proposed to give her two thousand pounds for the work, and half that sum for a novel; while Mr. Saunders offered nine hundred pounds "for the copyright of the first edition," giving the author "twenty-five copies of the work, and all proceeds of the sale in America over and above expenses." These terms, though less favorable than those offered by the other competitors, were satisfactory to the author and were duly accepted. She did not write for money, and moreover she did not like Mr. S.'

* Vol. I, p. 400.

competitors. The scenes of the day were extremely wearying to her, almost as much so as those on a similar occasion a few years before, when the position of the parties was reversed. And she was obviously relieved when they were over. "The way," she writes, "in which authors allow themselves to be put up to auction, and publishers squabble at the sale was a real and perpetual grief to me to witness." It reminded her of the slave sales in New Orleans. "I went to bed that night," she continues, "with a disgusted and offended feeling of having been offered bribes, all day long, with a confidence which was not a little insulting." * Such is literary fame.

The industry with which our author prosecuted her literary work, after securing herself against actual want, was an enigma to her friends. It seemed to them an infatuation. But it did not appear to her in that light: "Authorship," she writes, "has never been with me a matter of choice. I have not done it for amusement, or for money, or for fame, or for any reason, but because I could not help it. Things were pressing to be said; and there was more or less evidence that I was the person to say them. In such a case, it was always impossible to decline the duty for such reasons as that I should like more leisure, or more amusement, or more sleep, or more of anything whatever. If my life *had* depended on more leisure or holiday, I could not have taken it." †

The capacity of Miss Martineau for literary work was marvellous; her industry most indefatigable. The mental infirmity of childhood had disappeared at her maturity, and left her a temperament and disposition, while ardent and not unenthusiastic, singularly sweet, calm and serene. Every trace of melancholy was effaced by devotion to her tasks. Even the disability which had come upon her since childhood, that of an incurable deafness, by withdrawing her from what otherwise might have proved distractions, was an evident advantage to the literary faculty. But what was the greatest aid of all in her career was the love of her task. Her work seemed to absorb the freshest energy of her life, and to afford her life's

* Vol. I, p. 403. † *Id.*, p. 143.

best satisfactions. She was largely dependent on her tasks for diversion from pain, vexation and sorrow, as well as for those pleasures of existence which the multitude seek in idleness and dissipation. She speaks of writing an average of seven foolscap pages of her history a day; twelve pages per day, quarto sheets of thirty-three lines each, of her *Political Economy Tales;* and of translating forty-eight pages of M. Comte's *Philosophie Positive*, in a day. This was the highest number translated by her in any one day; while twenty pages of it was the lowest number a day to which she limited herself. But, in the meantime, she was doing other and more laborious work, this task being a sort of intellectual pastime—"a labor of love"—as she declares.

The hours of her work were in the morning. "I really do not know," she observes, "what it is to take anything but my pen in hand, the first thing after breakfast, except, of course, in travelling. I never pass a day without writing. * * * In London, I boiled my coffee at seven or half-past, and went to work immediately till two, when it was necessary to be at liberty for visitors till four o'clock."* During the writing of her *History of the Peace*, the morning, as usual, was spent in composition; the evening, in reading up and preparing materials for it. She never resorted to opium to increase her literary *verve;* and, contrary to medical advice, she abjured entirely the use of wine or spirit. "Fresh air and cool water are my stimulants," she said.

The busiest period of her life was probably that from her forty-sixth to her fifty-second year. The amount of literary labor which she performed during that period seems to a mind of ordinary activity, well-nigh Herculean. Her best and most enduring work, that of the *History of the Thirty Years' Peace*, was written at that period. In the meantime she translated M. Comte's great work above referred to; delivered several courses of lectures to the working people of Ambleside,—embracing the subjects of English and American history, political topics, temperance, sanitary science, etc. She was

* Vol. I, p. 145.

moved to lecture on health topics by her sympathy with the wretchedness of the working people around her, induced, partly, she justly believed, by their gross ignorance of sanitary conditions. "When the people are compelled to sleep, ten, twelve or fourteen in two rooms, there can be little hope for their morals or manners," she writes. She wished "to cut off the sources of disease, sin and misery, by a purer method of living." The one substantial benefit of her effort in this direction was the formation of a "Building Society," whose express function it was to look after the sanitary appointments of homes and house-building. At the same time she was writing *Household Education;* contributing to various periodicals, *Household Words*, among others; assisting new literary ventures; and writing almost daily leaders in the *News*. Besides this work there was the publication of the *Atkinson Letters*, two volumes; *Eastern Life*, three volumes; the two beautiful volumes before us, the *Autobiography*, and the sustaining of a correspondence which could not but absorb a great part of the time allotted to the daily routine. With such remarkable versatility one can easily believe that she wrote with unusual ease, and without revision, as she herself affirms. While such slow and "poky" geniuses as Carlyle, or "George Eliot," were racking their brains in rearranging and rewriting their essays and plots, Miss Martineau's MS. was in the hands of the printer after the first draft, and she, herself, was drafting more copy! Then her literary faculty was always ready. There was no period of her life, she observes, when she could not sit down to her table and get to work within fifteen minutes. Herein is the secret of her extraordinary literary fertility.

The *Autobiography*, the author's last considerable work, is the most remarkable in many respects, as it will be the most successful as the world reckons success. Though it is not above criticism by any means, it is a model work of its kind, and will be for a century to come. The qualities which were so characteristic in the woman, such as loyalty to duty, strength of conviction and independence in criticism, are conspicuous in every detail of her life's story. The dislike of

appearing before the public in a garb resembling in anywise falsehood or hypocrisy, led her doubtless to write many details of persons and things, including herself and her achievements, which a keener sense of the proprieties would perhaps have withheld. While these, however, are errors of taste, they were evidently intended as a rebuke to the miserable hypocrisies so perversely practised everywhere in polite society. Her own life was singularly free from the follies of most of her contemporaries. "There is nothing in money," she nobly writes, "that could pay me for the slightest deflexion from my own convictions, or the most trifling restraint on my freedom of thought and speech."* If men and women must needs fawn and flatter in deference to power and a mistaken public sentiment, it was Harriet Martineau's part to stand erect, even if to do so reflected on the weaknesses of her compeers, and placed her in the unpleasant attitude of conscious superiority to them. In her own life and relations there was nothing she needed to conceal. Indeed, she prided herself on having no secrets. Had it been otherwise the influence of the woman would have been seriously impaired. It could not be expected, therefore, that an individual thus constituted would be a safe repository for other people's secrets or weaknesses. Accordingly, in the work before us may be found a full and free declaration of her views of religion and philosophy, politics and science, together with conversations and personal judgments of contemporary men and women, literary, political and philosophical. These life-portraits of distinguished *litterati* and others, are sketched in her pages with a hand as free and unconstrained as if she were writing history. And while the interest in her volumes will be largely increased by this feature, it must awaken a hostile feeling in certain quarters and excite no little adverse criticism. We must be prepared, therefore, to have our idols rudely dealt with. Take, for example, what she says of Lord Macaulay:

"His review articles, and especially the one on Bacon, ought to have abolished all confidence in his honesty, as well as his capacity for philosophy. Not only did he show himself to be dis-

* Vol. I, p. 202.

qualified for any appreciation of Bacon's philosophy, but his plagiarisms from the very author (Basil Montagu) whom he was pretending to demolish, (one instance of plagiarism among many) might have shown any conscientious reader how little he was to be trusted in regard to mere integrity of statements."*

She is equally and justly severe on his *History of England*, claiming it to be a "brilliant fancy piece" devoid of all trustworthiness—"wanting not only the truth but the repose of history."

Again, in respect of vain men:

"There was Brougham wincing under a newspaper criticism, and playing the fool with silly women. There was Jeffrey flirting with clever women, in long succession. There was Bulwer on a sofa, sparkling and languishing among a set of female votaries—he and they dizzened out, perfumed and presenting the nearest picture to a seraglio to be seen on British ground,—only the difference in hauteur of the lord of the harem being absent. There was poor Campbell, the poet, obtruding his sentimentalities amidst a quivering apprehension of making himself ridiculous. * * * * Then there was Babbage,—less utterly dependent on opinion than some people suppose. * * * There was Edwin Landseer, a friendly and an agreeable companion, but holding his cheerfulness at the mercy of great folk's graciousness to him. * * * Then there was Whewell, grasping at the praise for universal learning, * * * and liking female adoration. * * * I might instance more; but this is enough. The display was always to me most melancholy; for the detriment was so much greater than in the case of female vanity. * * * Lady Morgan and Lady Davy and Mrs. Austin and Mrs. Jamieson may make women and men smile and be insolent; and their gross and palpable vanities may help to lower the position and discredit the pursuits of other women, while starving out their own natural powers: but these mischiefs are far less important than the blighting of promise and the forfeiture of a career, and the intercepting of national blessings in the case of a Bulwer or a Brougham." †

She thinks a few noble women, like Joanna Baillie, Mary Somerville, or Elizabeth Barrett Browning, may repair the mischief, "as regards the dignity of women," but it is quite different as regards undignified, silly men. However that may be, it cannot be denied, that weak women have demoralized and destroyed a great many strong men.

She evidently admired Thomas Carlyle, as any one must

* Vol. I, p. 263.

† *Id.*, pp. 265, 266.

who loves strong speech and honest work; and aptly characterizes him "an ideologist who will preach forever in a mood of exaltation and in a style of fustian, without being listened to by any but those who do not need his incitements."* Mr. Carlyle is a dyspeptic, and naturally enough suffers at times from melancholy. "I have seen his face," says Miss Martineau, "under all aspects, from the deepest gloom to the most reckless or most genial mirth; and it seems to me that each mood would make a totally different portrait." Then she describes his appearance as a lecturer: "Yellow as a guinea, with downcast eyes, broken-speech at the beginning, and fingers which nervously pick at the desk before him, he could not for a moment be supposed to enjoy his own effort." She believes the improvement in the social condition of England, during the last half century is largely due to the influence of Mr. Carlyle; and we cannot but respect her judgment in that regard.

She refers pleasantly, also, to Henry Hallam, who evidently thought her "conceited and saucy," because she insisted upon treating members of the royal family neither better nor worse than other people. She speaks of bishop Whately, with his "odd, overbearing manners, and his unequal conversation, sometimes rude and tiresome, and at other times full of instruction, and an occasional drollery coming out amidst a world of effort." "Then, there was the nervous, good-natured, indiscreet, rattle — the bishop of Norwich, (Stanley),—who could never get under way without being presently aground. Timid as a hare, sensitive as a woman, heedless and flexible as a child, he was surely the oddest bishop that ever was seen." Of the historian Grote she speaks in words of sovereign admiration: "As a good man and a gentleman, his reputation was always of the highest;" Charles Darwin, "the simple, child-like, painstaking, effective," "who established himself presently at the head of living English naturalists." And "Lady Lyell was almost as remarkable in society as her husband, though she evidently considered herself only a part of him. * * * She travelled over half

* Vol. I, p. 285.

the world with him, entered fully into his pursuits, and furthered them as no one else could have done; while there was not a trace of pedantry in her, but a simple, lively manner, proceeding from a mind at ease and nobly entertained." "Dr. Dalton, [the physiologist,] was simple in every way." So, too, was Mrs. Somerville "in all that was essential." Her mistake, our author thought, was in "taking her daughters to Court," and in other ways conforming to "conventional matters." "I used to wish," observes Miss Martineau, "she had been wise in those matters and more self-reliant altogether."

Miss Martineau clearly could not overcome the proud, democratic element in her nature. "Amidst all pedantry, vanity, coquetry and manners, ruined by celebrity which I have seen for these twenty years past," she writes, "I have solaced and strengthened myself with the image of Joanna Baillie, and remembering the invulnerable justification which she set up for intellectual superiority in women,"—a noble tribute to a noble woman. She refers to "Macready's sensitiveness shrouding itself within an artificial manner;" and to the artist Cunningham's manliness being his "dominant characteristic." "While a workman, a student and a poet, he was above all a man." "Phillips was formal and self-complacent, but well-read and communicative. And the friendship between him and his accomplished family was a pretty spectacle." The late Rev. Dr. Channing, she speaks of as "the solemn, curt, inaccessible, ever-spiritual." She was at times a guest at his house, while at Boston. Of Mary Wolstonecraft, she observes, that with all her powers she "was a victim of passion, with no control over her own peace, and no calmness or content except when the needs of her individual nature were satisfied."

The modern development of the Women's Rights question found little sympathy with our author:

"When I see an eloquent writer insinuating to everybody who comes across her that she is the victim of her husband's carelessness and cruelty, while he never spoke in his own defence; when I see her violating all good taste by her obtrusiveness in society, and oppressing everybody about her by her Epicurean selfishness

everyday, while raising in print an eloquent cry in behalf of the oppressed; I feel to the bottom of my heart that she is the worst enemy of the cause she professes to plead." *

Still she was not indifferent to the merits of the question and could write with great good sense that,

"The time has not come which certainly will come, when women who are practically concerned in political life will have a voice in making the laws which they have to obey; but every woman who can think and speak wisely, and bring up her children soundly in regard to the rights and duties of society, is advancing the time when the interests of women will be represented as well as those of men." †

Of Margaret Faller she writes as "one living and moving in an ideal world, talking in private and discoursing in public about the most fanciful and shallow conceits, which the transcendentalists of Boston took for philosophy; looking down upon persons who acted instead of talking finely, and devoted their fortunes, their peace, their repose, and their very lives to the preservation of the principles of the Republic." Mr. Everett she aptly refers to with "other second rate politicians." She saw in him "the completest illustration she met with of the influence of republican life upon a man of powers without principle, of knowledge without wisdom." Of the three leading politicians—for they were not statesmen—who were prominent in the stirring times of the Republic forty years ago, Clay, Calhoun and Webster, her judgment is unimpeachable: "All were hugely ambitious." Nor was her estimate of the political influence of those men on the destiny of the nation at fault:

"As far as appears," she writes, "they were the last of the really great men who led the statesmanship of the Republic; and to their failure, moral and political, may perhaps be mainly charged the fatal mischief which now hangs as a doom over the State; that the best men decline entering into political life; and that there is every inducement for the least capable and the least worthy to be placed in the highest seats. The ablest men of their generation did not attempt to reverse, or even to retard the retrogression of their country; but, on the contrary, for their own ends they precipitated it." ‡

"The only country in the world whose people are inferior

* Vol. I, p. 302. † *Id.*, p. 303. ‡ *Id.*, pp. 370, 380.

to its institutions," she declared, is America. The events of the last twenty-five years but too fully confirm the rare forecast of her political vision, in regard to the United States, especially. Her antagonism to Whiggery, in England, too, was too radical to permit her to pass it over in silence. Whig influence, she declared, withered everything it touched —even a long and favorable notice of one of her books by the Whig press declined its sale at once. "But the poverty and the perverseness of their ideas [Whigs,] and the insolence of their feelings were precisely what might be expected by all who really knew that remarkably vulgar class of men." *

These brief citations from Miss Martineau's *Autobiography* will serve the double purpose of showing the author's literary style and her habit of free-handed criticism. The latter may not always have been just; indeed, we must confess that she carried her freedom of criticism to the utmost limit of propriety, and became thereby amenable to the charge, more or less just, of conceit, if not also of pique, and of an emphatic estimate of her own influence, which, however, we do not believe she overrated.

We have passed over much in the life of our subject, worthy of transcribing, lest our essay expand to unreadable length. Her modest love affair, which fortunately for mankind, soon abruptly terminated; her long and almost hopeless illness which came on in her thirty-seventh year, clearly from over-exertion, during which she wrote that fine work, *The Hour and the Man*, etc.; her final cure by mesmerism, and the malignant *furore* created thereby; the home she subsequently established at Ambleside, surrounded with such comforts and advantages as a cultivated taste would suggest, and where a simple and unostentatious hospitality was freely dispensed to her friends and visitors: These interesting things are dwelt upon in her story with loving particularity, and will be read with absorbing interest. But we cannot dwell upon them. Then, she was so happy there. The near prospect of death had no terrors, did not disturb that repose of mind which was more

* Vol. II, p. 2.

to her than the wealth of the Indies. "The Winter, after long lingering, is gone," she writes, in the Spring of 1854, "and I am still here, sitting in the sun on my terrace, and at night going out, according to old custom, to look abroad in the moon or starlight. We are surrounded by bouquets and flowering plants. Never was a dying person more nobly 'friended,' as the Scotch have it. My days are filled with pleasures and I have no cares; so that all I have to fear is that, after all the discipline of my life, I should be spoiled at the end of it."* It was there at the 'Knoll' that she went out so often on her terrace at night "to meet the midnight," and indulge her habit of reflecting on the Infinite—she, who was neither Christian nor Pagan; she, who was without hope of a future for herself beyond the veil! It was in the peaceful serenity of that home at Ambleside in the daily expectation of death that she penned these great, brave thoughts:

"When I experienced the still new joy of feeling myself to be a portion of the universe, resting on the security of its everlasting laws, certain that its cause was wholly out of the sphere of human attributes, and that the special distinction of my race is infinitely nobler than the highest proposed, under a scheme of 'divine moral government,' how could it matter to me that the adherents of a decaying mythology were finally clinging to their Man-God, their scheme of salvation, their rewards and punishment, their arrogance, their selfishness, their essential pay-systems, so ordered by their mythology?" †

Faith in the "everlasting laws," is, indeed, a joy and a rest which the world knows not of.

The philosophical views of Miss Martineau are too well-known to require notice in this connection. In religious philosophy she was an Agnostic. She held in extreme aversion metaphysics and theology, and rightly traced to the latter much of the hypocritical weakness of the time. To say that she was a disciple of M. Comte, so far as an independent thinker like her can be a disciple of any one, holding ever to phenomena and induction based thereon, will be sufficient. It is interesting, however, to notice the effect of this philosophy on her emotional or religious nature.

* Vol. II, p. 103. † *Id.*, p. 45.

Looking on the world of matter and motion from the objective point of view; subordinating the ideal to the demonstrable; keeping clearly in view the relation of cause and effect and the distinction of the abstract and concrete, she brought herself to disbelieve in the possible, outside of, and beyond, the sensible,—in the existence of things that did not appear, or that were not legitimately deducible from well-founded data,—she was the best type of the purely intellectual life that England has produced—not excepting John Stuart Mill. She found in intellectual conceptions delights too full to be exchanged for those of her Christian experience. "In an intellectual life," she writes, "I found then as I have found since, refuge from moral suffering, and an always unexhausted spring of moral strength and enjoyment." * And elsewhere she refers to the subject more fully in a manner too interesting to be wholly passed over:

"The long study of Comte had deeply impressed on me the imagery of the glorious hierarchy of the sciences which he has exhibited. The time was gone when I could look at objects as mere surface, or separate existences; and since that late labor of love, [translating *La Philosophie Positive*], I had more than ever seen the alliance and concert of heavenly bodies, and the mutual action and interior composition of the substances which I used to regard as one in themselves, and unconnected in respect to each other. It is truly an exquisite pleasure to dream after the toil of study, on the sublime abstractions of mathematics; the transcendent scenery unrolled by astronomy; the mysterious, invisible forces dimly hinted to us by physics; the new conception of the constitution of matter originated by chemistry; and then, the inestimable glimpses opened to us, in regard to the nature and destiny of man by the researches into vegetable and animal organization, which are at length perceived to be the right path of inquiry into the highest subjects of thought. All the grandeur and all the beauty of this series of spectacles is deepened by the ever-present sense of the smallness of the amount of discovery achieved. * * * * Wondrous beyond the comprehension of any one mind is the mass of glorious facts, and the series of mighty conceptions laid open; but the shadow of the surrounding darkness rests upon it all. The unknown always engrosses the greater part of the field of vision; and the all of infinity sanctifies both the study and the dream. Between these worlds, and other interests, literary and political, were my evenings passed

* Vol. I, p. 50.

a short year ago. * * * Yet, I may say that there has never been, since I had a house of my own, an evening spent in the most charming intercourse that I would not have exchanged (as far as the mere pleasure was concerned) for one of my ordinary evenings under the lamp within, and the lights of heaven without."*

In this eloquent extract, our author speaks of the vast unknown, which, but for other and more specific utterances to the contrary, might lead one to suppose that she referred to the supernatural—or more properly, super-sensitive—side of life. To her, however, the unknown was that which was too vast or complicated to be grasped by finite faculties—unexpanded perceptions. The intellectual function seems to have exhausted, or at least, to have subordinated the intuitional in her mind, and to have robbed her of that higher sense—the sense spiritual, if I may so say, which was so conspicuous in the life of Paul, Jesus of Nazareth, and even of Mohammed. Like John Stuart Mill, she did not believe in conscious life after the dissolution of the body, and like John Stuart Mill, she had the courage to say so:

"I neither wish to live longer here," she writes, "nor to find life again elsewhere. It seems to me simply absurd to expect it, and a mere act of restricted human imagination and morality to connive of it. It seems to me that there is, not only a total absence of evidence of a renewed life for human beings, but so clear a way of accounting for the conception, in the immaturity of the human mind, that I myself utterly disbelieve in a future life." †

And this absence of faith in the renewed life, so far from giving her any discomforting or saddening reflections, was the source of unalloyed satisfaction. She believed she had discovered the truth, and that gave her infinitely more pleasure than any selfish consideration respecting her ultimate destiny. She had been brought by the amplitude of her experience to a degree of mental serenity seldom attained by mortals, but which, we believe, to be the supreme heritage of every one whose life is in harmony with the highest conditions possible for it to achieve. That spirit of resignation to the inevitable course of things—to the Divine will, as the pietists would say, —to the everlasting laws, as she would say—so characteristic

* Vol. II, pp. 90, 91. † *Id.*, p. 107.

of great minds, was hers in a preëminent degree. "If I am mistaken," she writes, "in supposing that I am now vacating my place in the universe, which is to be filled by another—if I find myself conscious after the lapse of life—it will be all right, of course." Life had been full of joy and contentment to her; she had been glad of the opportunity of living and doing; she had had "a noble share of it," she said; but she never dreamed "of wishing that anything were otherwise than what it is." Here is manifest a strength of conviction and a degree of confidence in the eternal verities which gave character to her faith and made her an exemplar to her race. One cannot but admire the courage of her convictions, while one dissents from her conclusions.

There are few who will take any comfort in sentiments like these: to most people it will be inconceivable how they could have been any comfort to her. And yet it is undeniable that they did afford her a satisfaction of which meaner mortals have no experience. Can Christians find sufficient contentment in their philosophy to enable them to write like this?

"As for me who unexpectedly find myself on the side of the majority of thoughtful persons on these questions, I am of course abundantly solaced with sympathy which I can accept; and I am more and more sensible, as I recede from the active scenes of life of the surpassing value of a philosophy which is the natural growth of experience and study,—perhaps I may be allowed to say,—the progression of a life. While conscious, as I have been, of being encompassed by ignorance on every side, I cannot but acknowledge that philosophy has opened my way before me, and given a staff into my hand, and thrown a light upon my path, so as to have long delivered me from doubt and fear. It has moreover been the joy of my life, harmonizing and animating all its details, and making existence itself a festival." *

Thus she found in philosophy the satisfaction which Christians seek—but do not always find—in faith in Christ.

These were Harriet Martineau's convictions on the all-absorbing topic of a future life, at the age of maturity. She survived their record nearly twenty years, but they remained steadfast, unchanged to the end. A few days before her death, which occurred June 27, 1876, while waiting that event as usual

* Vol. II, p. 112.

"with a cheerful mind," she, in a letter to her friend, Mr. Atkinson, reiterated her confidence in their truth in the following unequivocal language:

"I cannot think of any future as at all probable, except the 'annihilation' from which some people recoil with so much horror. I find myself here in the universe,—I know not how, whence, or why. I see everything in the universe go out and disappear, and I see no reason for supposing that it is not an actual and entire death. And for *my* part, I have no objection to such an extinction. * * * The truth is, I care little about it any way. Now that the event draws near, and that I see how fully my household expects my death pretty soon, the universe opens so widely before my view, and I see the old notions of death and scenes to follow to be so merely human,—so impossible to be true, when one glances through the range of science,—that I see nothing to be done but to wait, without fear or hope, or ignorant prejudice, for the expiration of life."

Thus did she end the journey of life conformably to nature, in content, "just as an olive falls off when it is ripe, blessing nature who produced it, and thanking the tree on which it grew."—*Marcus Aurelius.*

We lay down these volumes with a feeling that Harriet Martineau had truly thought out the vast problems of man's temporal existence—leaving the Beyond unexplored. She had a breadth of comprehension, a mental grasp, rarely equalled. She had thoughtfully ranged up and down the broad domain of the knowable, and through her extraordinary powers of analysis and induction, had included in her broad perspective that which lies beyond the scope of the finite senses, but which is still on the plane of the finite; and she had comprehended enough of the Infinite to satiate her senses and to satisfy her powers, and to bring to her a contentment too supremely joyous to be disturbed for a moment by any reflections concerning the destiny of life after the dissolution of the body. Such a subject did not seem to be of the slightest importance to her. Nature had kindly withheld from her the book of fate and she had no curiosity to pry into its secrets.

Patience is an element of greatness. Miss Martineau could wait the dénouement of her spiritual future. If her convictions were at fault in this matter it was due to a too severe *positivism*,

denying herself and others the benefit of a doubt as to the competency of her own powers of spiritual discernment, or as to the possibility that there might be some constitutional defect, on her part, of that sight or sense, which *feels* and *perceives* the other side of things, and brings one into nearness and sympathy with that life beyond the shadows which has been the all but universal hope of the race from its earliest infancy, and without which the average man would be the most miserable of creatures. Be that as it may, she evidently had no glimpse of a life spiritual disengaged from the sensible environment, and too little confidence in the mental sagacity and power of correct observation on the part of those who believe that doctrine, to give their opinion any weight with her. The error of her view, if error there were, arose in some defect of her organization;—her health had never been good and she had suffered for years with a cardiac affection of which she finally died;—the result of physical causes of too obscure a nature to be more than conjectured, in the present state of psychological medicine. Such speculations, however, would be out of place here; and we will only express the hope in this connection, that the day may soon come when the mental physiologist shall be able to determine with greater particularity than he now can, what mental conditions are normal, and what are abnormal; what is symmetry in mentality, and what is otherwise; and thus be able to declare, with some approach to exactitude and authority, whose mental vision is sound and whose defective in regard to the perception of spiritual truths. Until then, we must be content with confused and conflicting testimony—revelations—respecting the future destiny of the individual, and make up our mind to do equal honor to those who have the courage to think and utter their honest thoughts and convictions, on any subject, untrammelled by either hope or fear; nor abate one jot of our admiration, so that truth be the supreme object of their endeavor. It is the truth that makes one free, not blind belief. Secure in the truth one may well trust the Eternal Providences, and be content with one's destiny, whatsoever it may be.

ART. VI.—1. *The Origin of Civilization, and the Primitive Condition of Man.* By SIR JOHN LUBBOCK, Bart., M. P., F. R. S. London: 1870.

2. *Primitive Culture. Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art and Custom.* By E. B. TYLOR. 2 vols. New York: 1869.

3. *Primitive Marriage: an Inquiry into the Origin of the Force of Capture in Marriage Ceremonies.* By JOHN F. M'LENNAN, M. A. Edinburgh: 1865.

4. *Researches into the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization.* By LEWIS H. MORGAN, L.L.D. New York: 1877.

> "The speechless past has begun to speak; the lost is not entirely lost; the gone-by is not gone by forever."
>
> SIR FRANCIS PALGRAVE.

SCHILLER is wrong, very probably. He says "the Future is man's immemorial hymn." Man really thinks more and oftener about the past, and this is indicated in a hundred familiar ways. The tendencies of modern thought, scientific or literary, sufficiently show the pensive interest which people in general feel respecting the ancient mysteries or fortunes of our race; things which come home to our sympathies in such an unanswerable manner. For them, the gone by is not gone by forever, and they are always ready to hear of the researches made by the archæologists, ethnologists, linguists and other votaries of science, and to welcome the songs of our poets which are chiefly retrospective, and full of the pensive spirit

of antiquity, as those of the Longfellows, Tennysons, Swinburnes and Morrises sufficiently testify.

In following out and gratifying this natural tendency, our men of research have gone very far back into the shadows, clouds and darkness that rest upon the *origines* of the human race; and Darwin, Lubbeck, Tyndall and others have endeavored to throw light upon the subject by the argument of Evolution, which would trace men downward to the status of the animals, and still further to the elements of all organized matter — to the unit of protoplasm, composed of oxygen, nitrogen, hydrogen and carbon, as the germ of all vitality, and may be found, as Huxley indicates, in "a solution of smelling-salts." But there is a break in their logic, which they have not hitherto been able entirely to bridge over. We do not find in human experience, as far as the records go, anything to exhibit the lowest human savage in natural contact with some highest order of brute. It may be urged that human experience has not had time to note the change of the monkey into man; and this would be a good reason why the evolutionists demand such a large stretch of backward ages, say, a hundred thousand or two hundred thousand years, for the life of man upon this planet. But, according to our present lights, we must regard that doctrine as not conclusively proved, though attempts to do so have been very justly received with much welcome and encouragement by every lover of scientific investigation. As yet, man stands alone a living and moving Sphinx in the system of created things.

Over thirty years ago, M. Boucher de Perthes published his memorable book, *De l'Industrie Primitive et les Arts, et leur Origine*, announcing his curious discovery of manufactured flints dug up from the drift beds of the Valley of the Somme. He was followed by Rigollet, Quatrefages, Lartet and Hébert in France, and by Evans, Prestwich, Lubbock and others in England, Denmark and elsewhere, who entered with ardor into the research, and who in a few years had the pleasure of seeing or discussing a flint-heap of about 6,000 pieces, things which may be regarded as among the hardest "facts" in modern ethnology. Their tendency, as most people may be aware,

was to show that men, the makers of these flints as helps in cookery, carpentry and the field of battle, must have had their origin or early existence somewhere in the "Drift" or Primary period of Geology, which received from the anthropologists the title of the Palœolythic or Elder Stone age. This argument would fix the appearance of man on this earth at a date far anterior to the familiar chronology of Ussher and the Hebrew writings, which give our race an existence of about six thousand years. This latter period is probably too brief. The oldest traditions of men and the purport of the historic inscriptions of Egypt would seem to indicate a far greater antiquity. Yet, making the largest allowances in this direction, we may be justified in thinking the "evolution" argument a weak one. No space of time would seem long enough to bring the dog, the monkey, or the "half-reasoning elephant" into any kindred contact with the family of man. *Adhuc sub judice lis est.*

Those flint and fossil enquirers into the condition of our remote forefathers have been accompanied by others, also exhibiting a subterranean quality, yet easier and more agreeable to the general comprehension; that is to say, the explorations of the *Pfahlbauten* of Switzerland and the *Kjokkenmöddings* of Denmark and other coasts of the North Western seas. These subjects, dealing with the household habits and the early aliments of man, touch us more familiarly than any arguments derived from the "Drift Beds;" and, reflecting on the heaps of oyster-shells composing those *möddings*, we must feel a certain pleasure in thinking that the people who exhibited such a happy taste in the article of nourishment could not, even at that early period, be sunk into any extreme condition of barbarism. In the case of the *Pfahlbauten* also, a linguist will be so far interested as to ask why these edifices, should be called "stake-dwellings," when the ancient Keltic of the Alps, as well as of the British Isles, shows plainly enough that the term signifies "water-booths," or "water-houses." From this surface fact, it may be inferred that investigators have a good deal yet to learn on the subject of these same *Pfahlbautens*. Indeed, neither the *Kjokkenmöddings* nor the *Pfahlbauent*

have as yet told us anything, in a definite way, about the exact time in which they were put together; and they must, in some degree, lie under the evil report of Mr. Huxley, who declares that beyond a poor matter of some three thousand years or so, both chronology and history are a pair of "dumb-dogs" who tell us little or nothing. Yet the "longing after antiquity" must still incite the curiosity of mankind; and the Ganneans, Woods, Warrens, Cesnolas, Schliemanns and a crowd of others try to gather from ruined cities and temples, whatever evidences of "the speechless past" may be reposing beneath them. They have brought a great many strange things to light, some of these being no doubt good and genuine; and some, very probably, rather the contrary. Is it to be hoped, for instance, that the Stone of Moab—showing five letters more than belong to the ancient Phœno-Greek alphabet, and also showing that the Hebrews, at the date of 900, B. C., had already got their existing twenty-two letters—is a true thing? Was it really got up by king Mesha? If it was not—who can answer for the Stone of San, or the Tablet of Abydos?

But there are researches into the condition of our early predecessors which do not bewilder us with any grave doubts, since they are carried on under the sanction of historic authority. These refer to the condition of the primitive tribes of men as described in the oldest writings that have come down to us—their wants, ways, thoughts and achievements, whether in peace or war,—and enable us to come to a number of interesting conclusions. Mr. E. B. Tylor, in his *Primitive Culture*, has given us, with more or less felicity, a great number of these, all tending to show that the tribes of men, however scattered over the surface of the earth, are of one race, having traditions and remembrances in common. The argument seems to be a fair one, though many ethnologists refuse to accept it, holding that several "Adams" were created (or perfected) in various countries, to be the "protoplasts" of different races. Yet it may not unreasonably be concluded that a community of habits, legends and superstitions in the training of children, the business of manhood, in peace and war, the burial of the dead and the rites or rules of marriage, would indicate a

descent from the same human originals. The marriage customs would be an especial test in such an argument; and while apart from any purpose of controversy, they would form the sure measure of man's advance from savagery to civilization. The relation of the sexes have in all ages produced the marked varieties of human character and most of the lights, shadows, and colorings of social progress; and some of them have received the special attention of our modern ethnologists and historians of human society.

Marriage customs seem to have been originally very simple; and the oldest written histories sufficiently indicate this, showing that the rude tribes of pre-historic ages had the thoughts and ways of later and contemporary barbarians, and justifying the argument of those who deny that human society is in a state of "degradation" from a perfect original condition. The degradation doctrine was earnestly maintained by Archbishop Whately and his follower, Dr. William Cooke Taylor. But later scientists, who are under no obligation to accept without question the narrative of the Book of Genesis, hold that, instead of deteriorating, the race has on the whole been always advancing from the first and improving itself through the efforts and trials of ages. That barbarism was the original condition of men is, in fact, a proposition from which science will not recede; and in nothing perhaps was the old savagery more clearly indicated than in the marriage customs of men, as described by both ancient and modern writers. Among the latter class may be noted the German Bachofen's *Das Mutterrecht*, M'Lennan's *Primitive Marriage* and Dr. Lewis Morgan's *Researches into the Lines of Human Progress*, who show very conclusively that the earliest union of the sexes was what has been termed "communal" or "hetairist," the family being at first a number of blood-relations, intermarrying and growing to be what was subsequently recognized in Greece and Rome as the *genos* or *gens*. This conclusion is sustained by the direct statements of some ancient writers and also by justifiable inferences from these. The Hebrew Scriptures show how Abram married his sister, Sara, daughter of his father; Nahor, his brother's

daughter, and Amram his father's sister. Tamar, David's daughter, says to Amnon, his son: "Speak to the king for he will not withhold me from thee." The same custom prevailed among the Greeks in Solon's age: Blood-relations intermarried. But a curious distinction is to be noted: The children of a father may intermarry; but not the children of the same mother. And this custom (which, in itself, was an improvement on what went before) extended to nearly all the nations of antiquity. It sounds oddly enough in modern ears to be told that a father was not related to his offspring; but certain it is that, anciently, the children were regarded as belonging exclusively to their mother, that they were named from her and belonged to her family or *gens:* a state of things that disconcerts our customary notions and makes it rather difficult to understand this very curious theme in all its bearings and ramifications.

Meantime it must be understood that the peculiar union of brothers and sisters, (as we should call them) was an advance from an earlier and entirely indiscriminate order of marriage. Contemporaneous with the union of brothers and sisters—and still advancing and still improving—was another system vouched for by ancient authorities, and also by the customs of Australians, Haiwaians (Dr. Morgan's *Researches*), Nairs and some other tribes. It was a custom of polyandry, or "group-unions," under which a certain number of men, living together in a family or *gens*, intermarried with a group of women belonging to another family or *gens*—of their kindred probably; after which the united group lived in common, so to speak, neither men nor women embarrassed by any conditions of restriction. Concerning this order of things, there is some uncertainty. Dr. Morgan particularly distinguishes the "group-unions" from polyandry, while Mr. M'Lennan and others slur over these groups and speak of polyandry, or the custom of several men having but one wife. But it is sufficiently shown that those "group" and polyandrous marriages were among the most ancient customs of our race. In the *Timæus* of Plato, Socrates is made to say that he himself suggested for an ideal republic, a system of marriage under which the inter-

course of men and women should be free, and the offspring should be simply the children of the state. And Plato arguing for an arrangement of the kind, shows how people born in this way would naturally concentrate all their affection upon their country, not being called on to give any of it to their parents; which seems to be a very feeble style of logic for Plato. Again, Julius Cæsar says the custom of polyandry (or something of the sort) existed among the Britons; and Herodotus tells how the Massagetæ and Agathyrses lived after the same fashion. Mr. M'Lennan enumerates a number of modern tribes living in pretty much the same way * in Thibet, Cashmere, the Himalayas, India, Ceylon, New Zealand; among the Cossacks, in parts of Africa and in the Canary island, Lancerote.

Along with such direct evidence of these somewhat indiscriminate family habits of our remote precursors, we have testimony of an indirect and inferential sort which seems to be just as forcible. At the period when the family or *gens* begins to be first visible in the dawning of history we find, in rather general existence, a custom or law under which the marriage of men and women in their own family or *gens* was forbidden. The Greeks and Romans strictly observed that rule, which was also followed by their more civilized cotemporaries in Europe and Asia. It is also found among a number of modern tribes. "In Australia," says Eyre, "no man may marry a woman whose family name is like his own, or who belongs to the same tribe." † Burton in his *First Footsteps* says the same of the Somal and Bakelars of Eastern Africa; and Du Chaillu observes that among the tribes of the same region, marriage in the mother's family is considered an abomination. The same rule, in short, exists in various parts of India; among the Samoyeds, Circassians, Ostiaks, Jakuts and Chinese; among the red-skins of North America,‡ the tribes of Guiana ‖ and those of Brazil, according to Martius. "Thus," observes Sir John Lubbock, § "we see that this remarkable custom of

* *Primitive Marriage*, p. 180. † *Discoveries in Australia.*

‡ *Archæologia Americana*, quoted by M'Lennan.

‖ Brett's *Indian Tribes*, p. 98. § *Origin of Civilization*, p. 99.

exogamy prevails throughout western and eastern Africa, in Circassia, Hindostan, Tartary, Siberia, China and Australia, as well as in North and South America."

This prohibition, operating among so many widely separated races of men, evidently indicates the previous existence of the thing prohibited, viz., some indiscriminate orders of marriage, whether of blood-relations of the "group" sort, or the polyandrous; customs which would naturally leave their traces in the ideas or traditions of the succeeding ages, though these traces might have remained long unrecognized by the historians of human affairs. One of those traces or results is discoverable in a very odd social custom—one of the most notable on record. This was the rule of "wife-supremacy," or "woman-mastery," or *Mutterrecht*, as it is expressed by Bachofen. Under it the transmission of name and social right was in the mother, not in the father. The proofs of this may be gathered from a number of sources. Herodotus * tells how the Lycians of his time, (400 B. C.) counted descent in the mother's line; and Bachofen gives several quotations from old authors to show that the same rule existed among the Cretans, Athenians, Lemnians, Egyptians, Lesbians, Locrians and a number of Asiatic tribes. From the Etrurian tombs we may gather that the Etruscans had a similar custom. They held the sex in high honor, and at their festivals the women sat at table beside the men.

Among the barbarian tribes of modern times the same rule is observable. In Pinkerton's voyages † we are told how the four chiefs of Loango in Africa are sons of the king's sisters; "for the king's sons never come to be kings." Quatremère ‡ gives a similar account of the royal family in Arabia; and Baillie and Burton state that a like rule exists among the Berbers in Central Africa. Sir William Elliott § says the people of Malabar transmit their property through females only; and he adds that the people of Travancore have the same custom. Among the Nairs, says Latham,‖

* *Clio*, p. 178.
† Vol. XXVI, p. 331.
‡ *Mémoires Géographiques sur l'Egypte.*
§ *Trans. Ethnic. Soc.*, 1869.
‖ *Descriptive Ethnology*, Vol. II.

the property of the husband descends to the children of his sisters. Marsden * informs us that among the Battas of Sumatra, one of the antochthonous tribes, the succession of a chief goes to his sister's son; and the Malays of the island follow the same rule in transmitting property. Carver † says the Hudson Bay Indians name their children from the mother; and a like rule prevailed in Hayti and Mexico. Mariner ‡ states that the nobility of the islanders descends in the female line; and Eyre § makes a similar statement with reference to the Australians.

Thus ancient "wife-supremacy" may be accepted as an indubitable fact of early society. It somehow oversets or transposes all our customary notions of things; and modern investigators have tasked themselves to give some explanation of it. Everything, good or bad, must have its *raison d'être*, and the cause of that very ancient custom of mankind may be gathered in a rough way from what has been already stated respecting the indiscriminate marriage habits of the original races. Men, living together in families, tribes or *gentes*, would naturally have no very great assurance in the matter of their offspring, and during many ages of savagery would acquiesce in such a state of things and leave the question of parentage entirely to the mother. Society could at least indicate one parent of a child; and the family influence, and social influence of the mother followed as a natural consequence. The infant at its birth was the mother's child, and the mother's child it remained for the rest of its existence. It was she who gave it name, station, and the reversion of property. Her husband—the father of the child—was not taken into account at all. He always lived under a cloud of uncertainty, and was a sort of household problem—both to himself and to others. This ancient matter has a very grotesque aspect, certainly, and it is not easy to understand how the contemporaries of Cheops and Cephrenes could have got along in such a topsy-turvy condition of society. It would be some relief to doubt it, and say there never was any such thing. But this mass of evi-

* *History of Sumatra*, p. 376. † *Travels*, p. 78.
‡ *Tonga Islands*, Vol. II. § *Discoveries in Central Australia*, p. 330.

dence, ancient and modern, will not allow us to do so, and we must accept that piece of human history. We must admit that there was a time when the phrase "better-half" was no idle jest; was, in fact, "no joke at all," to a great many of those ancient fathers of a family.

But in the process of ages, this state of things suffered change and finally died out. It would seem somewhat harsh to say that the antique mastery of the women was a growth of social barbarism. But it would not be far from the truth. *Mutterrecht* rose in the world during those ages, when the wants, privations and sufferings of men kept their ideas at the level of their instincts, in a reckless and brutified condition. But with the invention of new appliances and means of life—that of iron, for instance, which would suggest the ax, the saw and the plough, and in time, secure harvests, the increased comforts and the acquirement of property—the thoughts of men would revolt against that miserable uncertainty which deprived a father of any certainty respecting the identity of his children and the power of leaving his wealth in his direct line. By degrees, with an improved moral sense, they would agree to abolish a bad old custom; and time would do the rest. The change appears in the earliest records of the civilized nations, Greeks, Italians, Asiatics, exhibiting men as the heads of their families, and women in the retirement of their households. The changed rule has been more or less the law of what is called civilization ever since. In some parts of the world the rule has been reversed, and polygamy has taken the place of polyandry, in the old East—and, we must not forget, in the new West also. But that debilitating and degrading custom is doomed to extinction in both cases and places, by the same law of progress which deprived women formerly of *Mutterrecht* and their unnatural control of human society. Yet, as regards *Mutterrecht*, it must be added, that it softened the harsh savagery in the midst of which it rose, and helped along the civlization in which woman lost her influence as arbitress in society. But in this case, also, it will yet be found that "the lost is not lost forever," and that much

of the old influence will come back to her in a far purer and more permanent manner.

The statement in a preceding paragraph that woman-mastery, or *Mutterrecht*, had died out should be somewhat modified. It has died out in the civilized world; but it survives among several scattered tribes (as we have already intimated,) showing itself in what may be called a refracted light. Dr. Morgan quotes the narrative of Rev. Mr. Wright, who says that in 1873, the women of the Seneca Iroquois of New York State held control of everything in their "long-house," and were ready to turn out of it any of their husbands who might be unable to provide for the family. "They did not hesitate," he adds, "to knock the horns from the head of a chief. The nomination of a chief always rests with them." No dictatress of three thousand years ago could have gone much beyond this. It is a notable case of "survival" of the fittest.

The same sort of spirit exists among the Moqui Indians. In their community the woman owns the house and property as well as the children; and Major W. Powell tells how, on the death of one of these wives recently, her relatives came forward, took away the children and the property, and dismissed the widower with his blanket and his horse—the man accepting the conditions as a matter of course.

No great custom of the world can die away without leaving its traces and traditions behind it more or less visible; and it would be curious to consider that probably the woman-mastery we have been trying to explain, may have originated the picturesque chivalry of the Amazon's, once flourishing in twilight legend along the shores visited by Jason and his Argonauts; and in our own day reproduced "with a difference" in the stalwart body-guard of the king of Dahomey. A remembrance of it may have given rise to the old law of Keltic ancientry, under which the succession of a chieftain was in the sons of his sister and not in his own. This was called the law or custom of "Tanistry." It might have had something to do with that other social observance of "Fosterage," and the habit of sending children away from the home

of their father, to be nourished and brought up elsewhere. And it might, in some grotesque and immemorial way, have brought about the ludicrous custom of the *couvade*, existing among the Basques, the Tabareni of the Caucasus and some tribes of South America. According to the rule of the *couvade*, when the baby is born, the husband, at the end of a day or two, gets into bed to take care of it and receive nourishing food, while the mother goes about her household business, dropping in, from time to time, to hope the invalid is getting along nicely and as well as could be expected. "Probably every Englishman who had not studied other races," says Sir John Lubbock, "would assume, as a matter of course that, on the birth of a child, the mother would everywhere be put to bed and nursed. But this is not the case. In many races, the father, not the mother, is doctored when a baby is born." * Brett, † Hans Egede, the Greenland historian, and others give similar accounts of this matter; and Max Müller says, with unsatisfactory levity, in trying to explain the custom: "It is clear that the poor husband was at first tyrannized over by his female relations and afterwards frightened into superstition. He then began to make a martyr of himself till he made himself really ill and took to his bed in self-defence. Strange and absurd as the *couvade* appears at first sight, there is something in it with which, we believe, most mother-in-laws can sympathize." ‡ The great Oxford Professor of Sanscrit, in this matter, as in some others, contrives to say as little as possible in a good many words. But indeed neither Sir John Lubbock, Mr. E. B. Tylor, nor any of the other ethnologists, has ventured to solve this notable riddle. Something may yet be found, however, to throw light upon it; and meantime the following suggestion may be offered for what it is worth: It was one of the oldest Aramean superstitions, as we learn from the Jewish Rabbis, that Adam's first wife was Lilith, a lady of the *djinn* or demon order of beings, and that, after he had transferred his

* *Origin of Civilization*, p. 10. † *Tribes of Guiana*, p. 101.

‡ Max Müller's *Chips from a German Workshop*, Vol. II, p. 281.

affections to his second helpmate, the other, the childless and undying one, nourished a special hatred of the human race, and, ever after, tried to destroy all the new-born infants in order to put an end to it. The legend says that the sick mother would be no protection to her babe, if certain wizard precautions were not taken to baffle the ghoulish enemy of all women in childbirth. Perhaps in the very ancient ages when men believed such stories, the husband was in the habit of guarding the baby against its enemy, in the absence of the mother; and, to be out of people's way in the confined space of those ancient homesteads, he would naturally get into a corner among the bedclothes.

There was, and is, another curious custom which may have grown, in some indirect way, from the old relations of the sexes, viz.: "Marriage by Capture," which women traditionally resisted and fought against, as against something that outraged their sense of liberty and right. That rough and ready style of making love, so generally known among the Britons, Russians, Lithuanians, Poles, Circassians, Greenlanders, Esquimaux, Tartars, Mongols, Hindoos, Mandingos, Malays, and Tongouses, is called *racshasa* in India, *kakburi* and *kalburi* in Thibet, (as Vambery tells us;) and was formerly named *bryllup* among the Scandinavians, *brutloufti* by the Goths, and *quanfang* by the Norserovers. It was also known among the Goths as *anasteo*,* and as *anagrip*—a rather expressive word — in the old laws of the Franks and Batavians. The thing had no doubt a good many other names, showing how very widely extended must have been that remarkable mode of paying one's addresses—a custom which lowered the status of women, since, brought in by force, they would be regarded as slaves in the household. It was only natural they should dislike and fight against such violence; and the traditions of resistance are still found to accompany those marriages of "bride-capture."

From the foregoing it may be gathered that the influence of women in society has been declining for the last three thousand years—that the barbaric woman had a "mastery" which her

* See Schilter's *Lexicon*.

gentler descendant cannot exercise. But history tells us how it continued to be perpetuated, exceptionally, in a thousand memorable instances, despite the general supremacy of the men. It showed itself in the Assyrian days of Nitocris and Semiramis; among the Greeks who tolerated and admired it in the Phrynes and Aspasias; among the Palmyrenes who reverenced the stately courage of Zenobia; and among the Egyptians, who obeyed the mistress of many languages and the victress of the Roman Triumvirs—Cleopatra. It could also be traced in the crowd of German maids and matrons who shared the perils and glory of battle with their husbands and fathers against the Roman cohorts; in the person of the British Bonduca, and in the sceptre of that earlier Victoria, called the "Mother of the Camps," who held supremacy over the legionaries of Gaul and Britain. In later ages, the world has found itself rather memorably swayed by what the irreverent in society have called "petticoat government;" as in the sixteenth century, when Europe saw its destinies controlled in various modes by a contemporaneous group and galaxy of women, that has had few or no parallels in history.* Mary of Guise, exercised in Scotland the strategies of her race against the Calvinist revolutionists of that perfervid little kingdom; and then Mary Tudor, in England, pursued a similiar sort of policy, doomed also to discomfiture. Following her, came her sister Elizabeth, standing in ruff and farthingale and sword in hand, to keep out the Spanish *armadas* and protect the new order of things. The young queen dowager of France, Mary Stuart, sat in the palace of Holyrood, watchful of her savage nobles and sorely distrust-

* This remarkable ascendency of the sex, at that period, greatly exercised the spirit of the Scottish reformer John Knox, who wrote a savage book against it with the title of *The Monstrous Regiment* (*Regimen*) *of Women*; a notable record of his contempt for such a state of things. He wrote it mainly against the three Marys'—Mary Tudor, Mary of Guise and the beautiful daughter of the latter, Mary Stuart; and he found himself very much embarrassed, when at a later period, Queen Elizabeth, his great protectress, asked him to explain some of his bitter language against womanly government. But he contrived to make out a reply, which is far too roundabout for the latter end of a foot-note.

ful of Darnley, her young husband, but all the while holding to the purpose of restoring the old catholic ascendency. Isabella of France, Queen of Spain, agitated the Court of Madrid with French influences. An illegitimate daughter of the Spanish Charles V, governed the people of the Netherlands with a high hand. Portugal was controlled by the Infanta, another overbearing woman who directed the statesmanship of that country. The stormy little mountain realm of Navarre was under the astute and powerful control of Jane d'Albret, mother of Henry IV of France; and France itself was for thirty years largely controlled by the genius of the famous Catherine de Medici, who was mother of three French kings, and who actually anticipated the French policy of 1830. She tried to get from Selim III the regency of Algiers for her son the Duke of Anjou; and failing in this attempt, succeeded in making him king of the horse-riding and turbulent Poles. At the same time she held a correspondence with another masterful woman who may be quoted here, though her name is not mentioned in the great histories. This was the chief Sultana of Amurath III, by birth a Venetian lady of the noble Baffo family, and named *Saffye*, after the Turkish custom of the seraglio. She made the Ottoman influence felt in the European courts; and, on behalf of her sometime countrywoman, Catherine, threatened Philip II with the Turkish fleet and compelled him to respect the French claims in some formidable controversy too long to notice here. And so she played her part. And there was yet another lady of that age, whose figure may be seen by close historic observers, moving over the stage of that tempestuous period, and who, if she had belonged to any of those royal lines, might have eclipsed them all in courage and the force of genius. This lady was of noble birth, the daughter of a line of territorial chiefs, and named Grainne or Grace O'Malley, chieftainess of a district in Connaught, partly in her birthright and partly in that of two noble husbands, the second of whom was of the De Burgho family. She exercised command of her servants and defendants in something of the traditional style so peculiar to some of the

most ancient tribes and communities of men, in which women had once the "mastery" of the family. She was as attractive in person as she was high-spirited, and had the farther distinction of being *Emir*, or admiral of a fleet of little ships which she maintained on the coast, and with which she struck terror into her enemies, hoisting her own flag over her favorite ship and daring with wonderful courage the deadly breezes blowing from Labrador and the Gulf, upon the iron-bound shore of her little kingdom. She waged war or made truces and treaties with the Sinclairs, Lords of the Orkney Isles, and with the rulers of the Isle of Man, and on occasion would worry the Lord-deputies of her Saxon sister, Elizabeth. Her husband, De Burgho, left her pretty much to herself, and at times, like a prudent man, "washed his hands out of" some of her achievements. She was at last taken prisoner by Sir Henry Sidney, and sent to Dublin, where his celebrated son Philip saw and conversed with her. Being dissatisfied with the treatment she received, she resolved to confront and confer with Elizabeth herself; and getting on board a ship in the bay of Dublin, sailed away, round Cornwall and the Forelands into the Thames. At Greenwich, this chieftainess by sea and land, had an interview with the Queen; and good treatment also, very probably; for she went back to Ireland, took possession of the ancient Connaught home and made no more history; that is, she lived quietly for the remainder of her days, and died of old age in the midst of her kindred.

The reader will kindly allow that in a notice of the able and queenly women who played such distinguished parts in the sixteenth century, the name of the brave and beautiful Lady de Burgho, *née* Grace O'Malley, was not unworthy this little recognition.

NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.

LEXICOGRAPHY.

1. *Dictionary of the English Language.* Quarto volume of 1854 pp.; containing over 100,000 words; illustrated with over 1,000 wood-cuts, &c. By JOSEPH E. WORCESTER, LL.D. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1877.

2. *Universal Pronouncing Dictionary of Biography and Mythology.* Imperial 8° volume of 2,345 pp. By J. THOMAS, A.M., M. D. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1877.

WORKS of standard excellence do not grow old, we believe, like other works, and dictionaries least of all. Hence, reviews of them are never ill-timed or out of place, as is often the case with other books.

Worcester's massive work, issued in the highest style of the typographical art by Messrs. Lippincott & Co., was first published by Messrs. Hickling, Swan & Brewer, Boston, (Mass.) in 1860. We had the good fortune to possess an early copy of the first edition; and well do we remember the jealousy the work awakened on the part of those interested, pecuniarily or otherwise, in that of the venerated Noah Webster. That it was very generally looked upon as an interloper in lexicography, or, at best, a compilation from *Webster's Unabridged*, is not at all strange; and when the late lamented Charles Sumner, in the Senate of the United States a few years since, pronounced Doctor Worcester the greatest lexicographer of modern times, there were many who opened their eyes in surprise. But, so it is, that genius steals upon its generation unbidden and unobserved, until it finally bursts forth full orbed to the wonder of the admiring multitude.

A day or two ago, we saw on a book-stand a volume curiously entitled, *A Readable Dictionary*, and, on opening it, found it was compiled by J. Williams, A.M., and published by Messrs. Barnes & Co., of this city, in 1869. It is so arranged that all words having relation to a certain word, "light," for example, are grouped around it as, "gleam," "luminous," etc., in the same cartouche, with their several meanings. It is a pretty little idea, elaborated with great industry; and yet it does not make the vocabulary so very "readable" after all, or tend to disparage or throw into the shade

the merits of those alphabetical dictionaries we have been so long accustomed to. At the same time, these last are not without their own claims to be considered "readable" by literary people of a curious and inquiring disposition; while they are regarded as "necessary" by those, the larger number, who look for information in a prepense and practical way.

Our modern dictionaries exhibit a great advance beyond those that served the turn of our grandfathers and great-grandfathers—and of this Worcester's Dictionary may be taken as evidence. Following the Webster arrangement in general—for the dictionary makers are all obliged to follow in one another's tracks, more or less—it has, along with its text, a number of appropriate and suggestive little illustrations in the shape of wood-cuts; and, all things considered, it more nearly resembles a museum of English literature than a catalogue of words; and, to the general reader, the scholar, the antiquarian, the poet and the philosopher, must be regarded as an eminently "readable" dictionary. Having said this, we must also say that it is something still better; and its element of practical usefulness must stand before any other in the estimation of the public. This grand quarto is a thing that, if they could have seen it, or fancied it, would have astonished the makers of the earliest English dictionaries—the compilers of the scanty little *Promptorium Parvulorum*, and those later who brought out the *Ortus Vocabularum* in the year 1500, Elyot's improved work in 1535, Cooper's Oxford *Glossary* in 1563, and Baret's Cambridge *Alvearie* in 1573. For about two hundred years these were the chief authorities in colleges and schools. The modern style of dictionary may be said to have begun in 1720, with Nathan Bailey's enlarged catalogue, his ample quotations and his learned etymologies; and his book was the basis on which Dr. Johnson raised the monument of his own orthographical renown in 1755. Our older readers may remember Todd's editions of his great work. In 1838 appeared Richardson's Dictionary, which, following the plan of Bailey and the examples of Junius and Skinner, gave, along with his words, a crowd of explanatory etymologies—some of them unexceptionable, and a great number of them wrong, or little to the purpose. Noah Webster's Dictionary, published in 1828, was an honor to the literature and scholarship of New England, and it combined in a great degree the excellencies of all preceding glossaries. Worcester's Dictionary is pretty much on the basis of Webster's, though making many improvements on it in several important particulars. It presents us with 27,000 words more than are to be found in Todd's Johnson, and its whole number amounts to about 104,000.

These additions to the great English muster-roll have been derived from a number of sources formerly overlooked as wanting in literary dignity or standing—being mainly drawn from the works of old English writers, from Anglo-Saxon vocabularies, like

Dr. Bosworth's, and from the provincial glossaries of Wright, Halliwell, Grose and others, who have done good service in illustration of archaic literature, and made some knowledge of it more necessary than formerly to our men of culture. The publications of the Camden, the Shakspeare, or Early English, and a number of kindred Societies (together with the writings of Crabbe, Platt, Graham, Whately, etc.), have brought a crowd of old English "waifs and strays" into the light; and this obliges people to consult the newest and most comprehensive dictionaries in self-defence. In the one before us, along with a number of resuscitated "good words," we find a large catalogue drawn from the circle of the modern arts and sciences, such as Astronomy, Chemistry, Paleontology, Music, Law, Mineralogy, Geometry, Mechanism, Religion, Naval and Military science, and other departments of knowledge, associated with names of scientific and artistic celebrity. In all these respects the superiority of our modern over the older dictionaries is very marked, and also a matter of course, considering the world's progress in every department of industry and intelligence, making new words necessary for new things, or modifications of old things.

The growth of any language is the most interesting study in the world; and this and the thousand curiosities of speech-fashion that gather about it would, in the present instance, fill a volume. Chance and caprice seem to have great influence in bringing about the changes of words, though there may be a certain sort of instinctive logic discoverable in them. People, in general, stick to the customary modes, and refuse very frequently to adopt words offered to them by the scientists. And with reason, apparently; for the scientists cannot agree among themselves. In 1749, Dr. Martin wrote *music*, *public*, etc., in his dictionary, leaving out the customary *k*. In 1755, the dogmatic Dr. Johnson "changed all that," writing the words *musick*, *publick*, as his father did before him. Twenty years passed away, and then, in 1755, Dr. Ash, in his dictionary, restored Martin's mode of spelling; but the people in general would not have it, and it was not till that generation had died out that *music* and the rest could appear freely in their curtailed condition. A number of other words have undergone the same sort of trials, and many of them are still "on the fence" of language. Webster's way of spelling several words is the fashion of a great many. He gives us *center* and *theater*, which Worcester sets down "centre" and "theatre." The former has "Savior," a form of speech which somehow repels a good many persons; while Worcester gives the word in both ways, leaving people to take their choice. The English still write *honour*, *labour*, *favour*, etc.; but they have ceased to write *terrour* and *horrour*. It is needless to say that Worcester eliminates the *u* in the most of that class of words.

That question of "spelling" is a rather interesting one at pre-

sent, both in England and in this country; and there are people who would modify our speech according to certain rules of sound and construction. It has, no doubt, a great many traces of wildness and barbarism; but the question will not be settled for centuries. The changes proposed in the orthography of the language would destroy much of its strength and picturesque effect, and do away with its archaic and historic colorings, and a good deal of its poetry too. Grammatical critics would, in fact, treat our language, as the Communists would treat society; and there is much, perhaps, in the systems of both that may be found logical and true enough. But human nature does not live by logic alone, and the finest sort of abstract ideas have sometimes a hard fight to get standing-room in the world. In most matters of change, people in general like the old motto, "*festina lente*," preferring those mutations which bring themselves about silently, and, as it were, by a negative species of adoption for which nobody in particular is accountable.

But in Worcester's Dictionary, the orthographical is not the only interesting department. It has its preface on Accentuation, and also its concluding sections which present us with the pronunciation of all words found in the works of Greek and Latin writers; that of the Hebrew nomenclatures, and also that of all modern geographical names. To a great many persons those Jewish and classic departments will be as attractive as the rest of the Dictionary; though they may, in a few cases, find the pronunciations rather disconcerting. Philadelphia, for instance, and Alexandria should, according to classic rule, be pronounced Philadelphía and Alexandría, with the accent on the penultimate syllable. But here our custom will not give way, and the rule of antiquity must go for nothing—at least just now. People may come to think better of it, and about the time of the second Centennial our orderly sister city may be complacently rhyming herself with "the dreaded name" of *Goliah*. Some time ago people refused to write Alkibiades and Sokrates for the old familiar Alcibiades and Socrates. But the shadow of the coming change is already upon them. English, German and other writers accept the *kappa*, and write the above names in the new way. *Celtic* is already gone, it seems. Within ten years it has presented itself in the guttural shape of *Keltic*. Yet it must be added, that these things are not exactly novelties. They are only restorations of the Doric and Keltiberian fashions of speech, yet phonetically followed.

And in this connection we may add that many words regarded as novelties in modern use are very ancient—some of them as ancient as the "Pillars of Seth," those architectural sphinxes which presented such an amount of "lettered" mystery in the twilight ages of the world. The amused reader believes that the word *loafer* has had a very recent and gutter-snipe sort of origin.

But it has a pedigree longer than that of Queen Victoria, and a *prestige* that may be recognized in some future edition of Worcester's. *Loafer* is the Keltic *lobar*, "a common man or serf," and it is visible in the mediæval *leper*, in the *lubber* of the English navy, and in the *limmer*, or scapegrace, of the Scottish highlands. In ancient Italy the word was spelled *liber*, and it meant a young man, or common servant. Then there is that other long-descended and expressive word, *bummer*. It is the modern shape and sound of the Keltic *fomorach*, which meant "tribe-man, common fellow, serf and vagabond." Again, there is the sonorous term *scalawag*, which has its undoubted root in the Hebrew dictionary of Gesenius, and appears, in more recent ages, as the *Scealc* of the Anglo-Saxons and the *Schalk* of the Gothic races, with the meaning of "thrall, servant, groom and common man." These words, with a hundred others of the sort, have come down to us from remote antiquity; and the most wonderful thing about them is the secrecy in which they made their way, at the end of long ages into our vulgar tongue, to assume the shapes of "bummer," "scalawag" and "loafer." They are no mere slang whanging upstarts of modern speech; and they certainly deserve a place in our dictionaries in the way of resuscitation or revival. *Weird*, a Keltic term, has been brought forward in that way. It was formerly the property of poetic writers only, and now we find it taken up by the newspaper reporters, who have given it a kind of meaning which everybody understands—or seems to understand. In the same way we have renewed the life of that Scottish word, *raid*, which seems to have come up in this country with the dashing Phil. Sheridan, and which we use at present as if we were "borderers," riding from Yarrow or the Tweed, "to Warkworth or Naworth or merry Carlisle" in search of "noute." Nobody is so poor-spirited nowadays as to write *incursion*.

No doubt Worcester's is a "readable dictionary," and one very suggestive of a thousand literary facts or fancies, or "passages that lead to something," through the winding highways or byways of a man's memory. Those hundred and four thousand words, the grand army of our language so to speak, have a fine effect under arms, with a thousand words of imperial command, and a thousand banners of the finest color and significancy streaming away with the varying winds, to all the horizons of the world, as far as the old Cape of Storms, the Himalaya barriers, the ridges of Colorado and the swarming archipelagoes of Alaska. Language seems destined to be a great factor in the work of progress that must yet be done in the world; and those who set themselves to talk of the powerful speech of this continent, run the risk of falling either into prophecy or poetry—or both.

We refrain from entering upon a critical examination of Worcester's Dictionary, or from critically comparing it with that of Webster, both of which was done by the late Editor of the

Review many years since—(Vol. III, p. 161). The conclusion to which he came was that to which any just, impartial critic must come, viz.: that Worcester's Dictionary is a decided improvement on Webster's. "It would not, indeed," writes Dr. Sears, "require much labor on the part of a competent scholar to render Webster's quite as good an authority as Worcester's. He would have to do little more than to alter what is called the Websterian spelling and pronunciation, and arrange the foreign roots so as to avoid anachronisms."—p. 167.

And so we stop; having merely glanced at our subject in a passing way, and chiefly to express a strong literary sympathy with, or respect for, such a very valuable and suggestive armory of a country's language as Worcester's Unabridged.

And here we have another dictionary, long a valuable occupant of our shelf, and concerning which, in this connection, we are tempted to say a few words; for it is a dictionary as serviceable as it is popular, and one that is probably more frequently consulted than any of those of the orthographical sort. This is Lippincott's *Pronouncing Biographical Dictionary*, which happily supplies one of those needs felt by the majority of scholars, lecturers, and literary men everywhere—the want of a trustworthy guide to the pronunciation of biographical names, domestic or foreign, ancient or modern, occurring in every department of literature. Its multitude of biographies includes apparently every name to be found in all other works of the kind. They are presented with judicious brevity, and the book is, on the whole, one of the most satisfactory books of reference we know of. Nothing that you want seems left out of it, and you are sure to find in it every name of note you ever heard of, from the days of Enoch, and long before, to those of Edgar Poe, Henry J. Raymond, and Algernon Charles Swinburne. We find it to be a kind of literary microcosm, and a little library in itself. But this is not all. It contains two dissertations—one of them the Preface, and the other the Introduction—both containing much attractive and instructive matter. The Preface throws a light of literary interest over the peculiarities of spoken speech, and the phonetic fashions of Europeans and Orientals; and the Introduction conveys the rarest kind of instruction with ability and learning such as will make it always interesting to linguists and other men of scholarship and general culture. It presents us with the chief orthoepic rules of several great languages:—the Arabic, the Chinese, the Danish, the Dutch, the French, the German, the Hebrew, the Hindostanee, the Hungarian, the Italian, the Norwegian, the Persian, the Polish, the Portuguese, the Russian, the Sanscrit, the Spanish and the Swedish. Along with a number of such rules, criticisms and comparisons, we get the native shapes of the Arabic, the Hebrew and the Russian alphabets—things the linguists and Oriental students find it so

necessary to know and remember nowadays in reading the transactions of learned Societies, and the scholastic essays of writers for reviews and other periodicals. The information presented here is very clear and comprehensive, and a man who would set out to travel and wish to cultivate his foreigners as he went along, from the wharf of Boulogne to "Aurora and the Ganges," and much farther, could scarcely have a better *vade-mecum* than the twenty or thirty pages comprising Dr. Thomas' Introduction.

This Introduction offers, among a variety of other matters, many corrections of those erroneous pronunciations which most people are familiar with. For instance, a great many were, and are, in the habit of calling a certain old Prussian general of the Waterloo era *Blutcher*, while the man really and properly rhymed to "Hooker." We have often heard the name of the South American patriot pronounced Bólivar, with the accent on the first syllable; and in this people might have been misled by Lord Byron, who so pronounced it in verse—for rhyme's sake, very probably—just as he pronounced "Trafalgar" on the last syllable in *Childe Harold*. As for *Bagdad*, so commonly accentuated on the first syllable, it must now have the accent on the last. And, speaking of one great city, we are reminded of the mispronunciation of another, and that is, *Mexico*. All English-speaking people go astray in this matter, their ancestors having blundered in trying to utter or transplant the Spanish *x*. The Spaniards first pronounced the word Mexico as the Aztecs did, and in writing it gave the sound correctly, since the Spanish *x* had. and has the Pelasgian and Keltic sound of *ch* in the Gaelic *loch*, and also in the German language. Mexico was pronounced *Mechico*, or *Meico*, by Cortez and his followers, and it is pronounced in the same guttural way by their descendants; for which reason the ingenuous youth of this part of North America are hereby exhorted to accentuate it in the same way for the future. There is the sister-word *Texas;* but this is "past all surgery," very probably, and must always rhyme to *vex us*, as it has done since the days of Colonel Crockett, who, no doubt, scorned to pronounce it *Teyas*, like a "greaser." But there is hope for *Meico;* and all the more probably that the word has been already pronounced properly by our people in the names of two renowned Oriental cities—one of them being the saintly metropolis of Arabia, and the other the pontifical capital of the Japanese Mikado—as some of our young geographers may be aware, without the necessity of looking to the map. All this is curious enough, but it is also true enough, since the term *Meico*, or *Meako*, or *Mecca*, or *Moqui*, or *Vico*, or *Wick*, has the significancy of city, or town, or village, from the waters of Nagasaki westward to the rocks of Northumberland and the Isthmus of Darien.

Altogether, our serviceable *Biographical and Pronouncing Dictionary* is a tome of the most unanswerable interest to all readers of literary taste; while it has a solid, indispensable value for those who follow the critical business and industry of the pen.

ETHICS.

1. *What is property? First Memoir. An inquiry into the Principle of Right and Government.* Blue and Gold, 8°, pp. 457. By P. J. PROUDHON. Translated from the French by BENJ. R. TUCKER. Princeton, Mass: Benj. R. Tucker. 1876.

2. *Conflict between Labor and Capital.* 12° pp. 211. By ALBERT S. BOLLES. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1876.

3. *Talks about Labor, and Concerning the Evolution of Justice between Laborers and Capitalists.* 12° pp. 162. By J. N. LARNED. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1877.

ALL of these books have been before the public a year or more, and are not, therefore, properly in the list of new publications. The subject of which they treat, however, is always new; and the present is a most fitting time to bring them before intelligent and thoughtful readers, which all readers of the *Review* are presumed to be. Let us begin with the one most important (Proudhon's).

This work of M. Proudhon is that which thirty-seven years ago fell like a bomb-shell among the combustibles of the French literary world, and then made such a noise in the world at large. As a general rule society was everywhere more or less indignant that any one should so deliberately and positively declare that property was "robbery." The proposition had a good deal of *l'audace*, which in Danton's opinion, was such a necessary policy in revolutionary matters, and showed that the writer inherited something of the old genius of "*Quatre-vingt-treize.*"

Pierre-Joseph Proudhon was certainly a singular man with singular ideas. He was born in 1809, at Besançon; the son of a journeyman cooper, in a brewery. He grew up in the midst of poverty with a remarkable love of books and school tasks, and became distinguished among his acquaintances for his studious habits. He chose the trade of a compositor and became foreman in the printing house of Gautier & Co., in Besançon. He next applied for the Pensionship of the Suard Academy of that town, and was accepted in 1839. His love of pure learning was shown in a linguistic paper on the comparison of Hebrew roots with the words of the Latin and French languages. In 1840, appeared his Memoir, entitled *What is Property*, of which the

book before us is a translation. The men of the Academy were startled by its logic, and an attempt was made to deprive him of his pension. M. Vivien, Minister of Justice, was solicited to prosecute the writer; but the economist Blanqui interfered, and pleading that the writer was a young enthusiast of ability and good intentions, warded off the threatened mischief. Proudhon was born to be aggressive; and for his next pamphlet, *Notice to Property-holders*, he was arrested and brought to trial at Besançon. The jury, however, looked on him as a mere enquirer and philosopher, and acquitted him. In 1843, he published *Creation of Order in Humanity*, on questions of religion, philosophy, logic and other subjects which showed the great activity and versatility of his mind. In 1843 and 1846 (being no longer connected with the Academy of Besançon) he brought out his *Le Miserere, or the Repentance of a King*, and the *Competition between Railways and Waterways*. His next work, the *Solution of the Social Problem*, was published in pamphlets and newspaper articles during the revolutionary times of 1848; and then he became editor of *Le Représentant du Peuple*. In this he opposed the idea of "national workshops," and gave great offence to the *prolétaires*. He tried to get up a Bank of Exchange, which should make no profits and discount paper without interest—only asking a slight commission to pay expenses. He was now in his grand element—a great hurricane of the French press. In 1849, he wrote against the growing purposes of Louis-Napoléon and was brought to trial, and sentenced to three years' imprisonment. When this compulsory calm fell upon him he had leisure to marry Mlle. Euphrasie Piégard, a working girl or seamstress—at the same time editing the *Voix du Peuple* from his cell in Sainte-Pélagie.

On his release in 1852, Proudhon published the *Social Revolution demonstrated by the Coup-d'état*. He then went to Brussels, where he issued a pamphlet, the *Philosophy of Progress*, which was seized on the frontier when they tried to carry it into France. In 1858, he brought out his great work in three volumes, on *Justice and the Revolution in the Church*. The work was seized and he himself, being brought to trial, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment and a fine of four thousand francs. He contrived to escape to Belgium, and there, in 1861, he published *War and Peace*, in which he opposed the idea of restoring Catholic and aristocratic Poland, and also the policy of placing Italy under a single monarchy. The following year the citizens of Brussels, disliking some of his sentiments, attacked his house and drove himself and his family out of it. In 1863, this "stormy petrol" of politics came home to France, and then went on incessantly to write his *History of Poland*, a *Theory of property*, the *Gospels Annotated*, the *Principle of Art and its Social Destiny*, and a number of other essays. His health failed him, but he still wrote on, and it was not till the nineteenth of January, 1865,

that he laid down his energetic pen. He died of disease of the heart, on that day, in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

In writing his work on property, Proudhon makes human nature, with all its instincts and habits, bow to his theory that property is an abuse, that it is utterly subversive of that principle of *equality* which should be at the basis of all civilization. He would reform society by bringing it down to the level of honest labor, and recognize no claim not based on labor. He would restore the earliest condition of the human race, when every man was under the necessity of working, and the resources of the land were free to all. He rejects every argument on behalf of inequality offered by those who contend that the active and inventive members of the human family should be better rewarded than the dullard. He insists on the *average* worth of all workers, and also on the principle of "justice" which should urge every man to recognize the claim of a less efficient brother. He argues that rent for ground is a wrong; that nature or Providence intends that every human being should have a living, and that no man has a right to call his own anything save what he can earn by his proper labor, of whatever sort. On the same principle he denounces the exaction of interest for money lent. He will not recognize money as the representative of labor. In all these ideas he goes back to the ancient conditions of the *gens* or tribe, such as it existed in the first ages of the race; occupying a certain space of ground and giving to each man a share of the territory to cultivate. No man, he says, should own anything he can not produce by his own labor; and labor is in fact the only right he will recognize. Yet he will not allow labor to accumulate property to be a pretext for the intermission of work, and gets rid of the difficulty by denying the right of usury.

Proudhon lived for forty years a life of great mental activity. Writing to Blanqui, in his second Memoir on property, he says, "I have been many things; in religion, by turns a Protestant, a Papist, an Arian, a semi-Arian, a Manichæan, a Gnostic, an Adamite even, and a pre-Adamite, a Sceptic, a Pelagian, a Socinian, an anti-Trinitarian, and a Neo-Christian. In philosophy and politics, an Idealist, a Pantheist, a Platonist, a Cartesian, an Eclectic, a Monarchist, an Aristocrat, a Constitutionalist, a follower of Babœuf, and a Communist." But he was no Communist now. He was one of those men who, for the last hundred years, have made France the crucible for social ideas and the battle-field of first principles. He was always eager to amend the faults of society, and his narrow circumstances sharpened all his impulses as a radical reformer. But he was a reformer after his own way, not any other man's. The Fourierites, the Communists and others had a certain respect for property; but he had none. *La propriété, c'est le vol*, was, in his programme, what *Delenda est Carthago* was in that of Cato. He has been in general regarded

as a political and social visionary; a man who would bring back the old semi-barbaric life of the *gens* or tribe, in which everybody worked and nobody was richer than his fellow. No doubt the realizations of Proudhon's ideal would change the foundation of society. If men had for the past three thousand years lived according to his plan, we should have had none of the bloody picturesque of war, which we call history; no royal pyramids, temples, museums, cathedrals, harems, or mighty cities to look back on or dig into the earth to discover. We should have had no idle poets, or poet-laureates, no *Iliads*, no *Æneids*, no *Don Quixottes*, or *Hamlets*, or *Belvidere Apollos*, *Last Suppers*, *Childe Harolds*, or *Idylls of the King*, and no crime and pauperism—things that have grown from the superfluities, luxuries and leisures of men. It may be fairly doubted if we should have had palaces or elegant houses in our cities, or so many of those cities to pollute the rivers and *expose* the infants. We should have, instead, the equal and comfortable conditions of labor, with plain homes, plain food, plain clothes, plain manners; no paupers, no crime, no distress, no starvation; a blessed condition of human society such as Christ died to achieve; equable, calm and orderly as that of the beavers and the bees, and in many respects a Paradise compared with the aspects of the world at present.

Proudhon may be right. Time has a powerful sort of logic in the decision of most controversies. Labor will yet be the rule of life, very probably, when the population of the earth shall have increased from fifteen hundred millions to fifty thousand millions. In a century or so the census of North America may amount to three hundred millions. New York State may have fifty millions, and our metropolis ten millions of persons. In such a state of things, people would be forced to spread themselves over the earth in search of aliment, by the labor of agriculture. The great question in any nation will yet be the question of food; and the claims of land-owners and capitalists would shrink to nothing before the pressing claims of the great mass of the inhabitants. In less than two centuries men must look mainly to the *justissima tellus* of the earlier tribes of our race; they must work to live, and live to work, and every unproductive human being must expect to starve or live on his capital rather than its increase—usury. Food, not gold, will then be the test of national and individual property; and our great, great grand-children, instead of calling Proudhon a visionary, will probably regard him as a true prophet who had no honor in his own age—the *vox clamantis in eremo* who was not listened to by an unbelieving generation. While we may dissent from his views we cannot but respect his unselfish devotion to the truth and unswerving loyalty to his race. He closes his treatise on property with a few impassioned words to his fellow-laborers:

"And you, said victims of an odious law!—you, whom a jesting

world despoils and outrages!—you, whose labor has always been fruitless, and whose rest has been without hope,—take courage! Your tears are remembered. The fathers have sown in affliction, the children shall reap in rejoicings." p. 287.

Then follows an eloquent prayer to Infinite Justice, part of which we transcribe:

"O God of Liberty! God of Equality! Thou who didst place in my heart the sentiment of justice, before my reason could comprehend it, hear my ardent prayer! Thou hast dictated all I have written; Thou hast shaped my thought; Thou hast directed my studies; Thou hast weaned my mind from curiosity and my heart from attachment, that I might publish Thy truth to the master and slave. I have spoken with what force and talent Thou has given me: it is Thine to finish the work. Thou knowest whether I seek my welfare or Thy glory, O God of Liberty! Ah! perish my memory, and let humanity be free! * * * Abridge, if possible, the time of our trial; stifle pride and avarice in equality; annihilate this love of glory which enslaves us. * * * Then, great and small, wise and foolish, rich and poor, will unite in an ineffable fraternity; and singing in unison a new hymn, will rebuild Thy altar, O God of Liberty and Equality!"—p. 287, 288.

This book is very well translated by Mr. Tucker and is accompanied by a notice of Proudhon's Life and Works, by J. A. Langlois. It is beautifully and solidly got up with the finest kind of type, ornamented with gilt-edges and bound with blue leather. A further attraction is the striking portrait of the great economist himself, leaning his hands upon his staff and his chin upon his hands, with the resolute square face of a social iconoclast We wish the work might be read with reason—calm and dispassionate—in the light reflected by that still greater Reformer and social Iconoclast, Jesus, the Son of Joseph.

In the little book of Mr. Bolles, the author laments the disastrous differences existing between the workers and the capitalists, the employed and the employers; and he leans to the opinion that Trades'-Unions for the maintenance of wages, and "strikes" for the same purpose, are not, in general, calculated to improve the condition of those who get them up. This he shows by a number of authenticated statements having reference to the workingmen of Great Britain, France, Germany, Switzerland and other countries, including our own. He also endeavors to show that the increase of wages everywhere, during the last three or four decades, was not due to the unionists and strikers. During the civil war in these States, he says, the rise was owing to other causes, one of which was the scarcity of labor operating with the feverish activities of the time. Similar facts have been observable in other parts of the world. On the other hand, he points

out the terrible losses endured by the workers, in consequence of their strikes; and there is scarcely any difference of opinion concerning these results. "The strike of the miners in Pennsylvania, in 1875, cost them $3,275,000, and in the end they gained nothing." Is that strictly true? Millions of dollars in wages have been sacrificed in the United States during the last five years by "Unionists," without any corresponding gain. What is the conclusion to be drawn from such facts? "Clearly that strikes do not pay,"—directly. Mr. Bolles has noted a great many curious facts connected with this industrial controversy. One is that workmen—as the English Trades-Union Commissioners have set forth—look rather to the approval and interests of their unions than to those of their employers—a fact that may seem natural enough, but which shows an evil state of things, nevertheless. There are exceptions to this statement: and these are to be found in Switzerland and the Netherlands, where employed and employers live and work together in a comparatively confiding and democratic manner. The inimical feelings exist in Belgium, Germany, Denmark, England, Spain, and the United States.

Having in no unfriendly spirit dwelt upon the evils of "unionism," which fails to secure the ends aimed at, the author proceeds to indicate some better ways of satisfying the just claims of labor. In the first place he speaks of the Coöperative Plan which began at Rochdale in England, over thirty years ago, and grew up from the agreement of some twenty-eight flannel-weavers, who wished to purchase wholesome food at a cheap rate. The sixth report of the Annual Coöperative Congress of England, held in 1874, shows that up to that time, 748 retail stores were in operation, having an ownership of 300,928 men and a capital of $13,928,885. This did not include everything; for sixty-seven societies made no report, and there were no returns from the Scottish unions. Along with these *retail* stores, are wholesale stores having a million dollars capital, and doing a business of $8,184,765, while the business of similar stores in Scotland amounts to about two millions of dollars annually. Along with these societies there are an Industrial Bank and a Coöperative Insurance Company.

Our author next notices the coöperative societies of France, on the plan of *production*, not food. In 1867, there were thirty-nine such societies in Paris, and a correspondingly large number in the provinces, especially at Lyons. The production or industrial societies of Great Britain numbered fifty in 1872. Mr. Bolles mentions one that began at Troy in this State, in 1866, with a capital of fifteen thousand dollars. Now its capital stock has risen to one hundred thousand dollars, and the experiment seems to be a success. In Germany several coöperative banks have been established, and they are holding their ground very satisfactorily.

Having surveyed the whole field of industrial statistics and

controversy, Mr. Bolles enters on the most interesting part of his discussion and suggests the means by which the existing difficulties may be greatly diminished, if not removed, in the course of time. Instead of the coöperative industries of the workers, he advocates industrial partnerships on the existing bases of "capital," and a share of the profits of trade with the workmen (who have also their regular wages) after the claims of "capital" and management have been satisfied. The longest tried experiment on this principle was made at the Methley collieries in England, beginning in 1852. It continued till 1875, when the partnership was dissolved. The same plan is carried out at Carlisle in Scotland, and in this country. It is found to work well in France: "In the iron foundry of M. Godin-Lemaire at Guise, employing nine hundred men; in the factory of Messrs. Dollfus, Meig & Co. at Mulhouse and Dornach; in those of Charles Kestner, near Giromagny, Messrs. Schlumberger & Co. at Guebwiller, and Messrs. Bourcart & Co., of the same town; the shoe-manufactory of M. Savart, in Paris; in Messrs. Steinheil, Dieterlen & Co.'s factory, at Rothan, and in the establishments of the Paris and Orleans Railway Company and of the Middle Railway. In all these cases the industrial partnership has proved very successful." Messrs. Brewster & Co., New York, carriage manufacturers, undertook the same experiment in 1869; and it continued for two years, till the eight-hour movement came to disconcert matters, and the experiment ceased; though Mr. Brewster continues to have faith in the principle. Those French workers prove that it is fairly practicable. Mr. Bolles, in advocating it, advocates also an increase of intelligence among those who are to benefit by it. Certainly the present education of our mechanical workers is very defective; and they must begin to recognize this truth as the first step in the right direction. The Educational Bureau of Washington, having issued a circular asking employers what effect education produced on the payment of labor, was informed that ordinary school education added from twenty to fifty per cent. to the wages of laborers. With an education more suited to the lives and needs of our workingmen, the increase would be still greater. They should be especially taught such branches of "social science" as the nature of aliments, common air, and the rules of health, and they should be accustomed to habits, or theories even, of exercise and temperance. Every lad should be instructed in the principles and calculations of whatever craft or business he may choose, so that he may be able to cope with the keen brains and general logic of employers and capitalists. He should recognize the laws of production, demand and supply, &c., and have a mind capable of understanding the various rules, regulations and economies of society in their relations to the labor and industry and domestic life of every man. That sort of education would go far to transform the artisan of the present day into

quite another being, and give him a dignity which all the rest of his fellow-men would be bound to respect. It would, in fact, be a dignity which he himself would be bound to respect; and that would be the highest benefit of all. Knowledge is power, every where. A vast body of educated workers could command a higher consideration from our men of wealth, and beyond doubt, better terms; for the employers would find them fully up to their own mental standard, and able to understand the conditions and prospects of trade as well as themselves. In such a case, the capitalists would be the more inclined to do what Mr. Bolles is afraid they would not consent to; that is, state plainly to their men the exact nature and capabilities of their business, as the basis of some fair agreement between the parties. Certainly that mercantile frankness which would do so much to soften controversy, will never come into fashion till our workmen shall have raised their own status by means of education and the habits that usually accompany it, in a more or less degree. Our artisans and workers are, in brief, only preparing for their grand battle of labor. They should learn how to begin it in a fitting way, and so carry it on, thoughtfully and steadily to a happy conclusion.

The author of *Talks about Labor*, the third and last book in our series, comprehends his subject, and we could wish he had avoided the dialogue method of treating it. Instead of drawing conclusions from well-established data, the writer adopts a frame-work, so to speak, of household conversation, for the easier conveyance, as he thinks, of instruction; and his friend, the "Judge," lectures the family in a very effective way; though perhaps not so simply and familiarly as he might. He says the question of labor has succeeded that of slavery in our society; but that the sentiment of Justice, which has only to-day gathered enlightenment enough to abhor a legal system of servitude which it so recently tolerated, cannot have reached the end of its education in that direction, but rather the beginning of new teachings that are larger and more exact. As surely as it has recognized the hideous oppression of law which made one man the owner of another, so surely is it going to take cognizance of those oppressive circumstances in the social state, which give to one an overmastering power over his fellow.

Our author maintains that the doctrine of morality is at the bottom of the controversy between labor and capital, and that it is not merely a matter of political economy. He is quite right in this view. The world is making progress in a variety of ways, mental and moral, and there is hope that a change for the better will yet exhibit itself in the relations of the workers and the employers. The "Judge" is no friend of the dictatorship so often attempted by the workers, and condemns the uselessness and mischief of strikes. Nor does he approve of the principle of

coöperation among the workers themselves, who can contribute nothing but their labor, and like Mr. Bolles—noticed in a foregoing page—recommends a system of industrial partnership, under which the laborers shall be admitted to share in the profits of the production they may engage in. Such a change, it has been objected, would involve a reduction of the profits of capital corresponding to the addition made to the remuneration of labor. But our author argues that, though it may involve some encroachment upon the general rate of profit which capital now enjoys, according to the accepted rules of trade, it would not reach the extent that may be feared by the capitalists. The greater part of the gain to the workingman would be clear gain, ultimately, costing the capitalist nothing. The provision for it would be found in an increase of profit, relatively to the capital employed, resulting from the stimulation of labor by more animating and energetic motives. This may certainly be calculated on, since self-interest is one of the strongest stimulants of exertion. "The most conscientious man," says Mr. Larned, "is incapable, as a rule, of constantly doing quite his best in work when the personal benefit to himself from it is not affected by certain differences of industry, carefulness and watchful attention. Although he may not feel it or know it, there is a want in him of one elastic-spring of action that would keep the motives of his work at a steadier tension." But in advocating this general principle of industrial work, he thinks it must be practised slowly and cautiously, believing that the education of the working classes has not as yet fitted them for this species of coöperation; and he also admits that the system would finally force down the profits of capital. Capitalists would, as a general rule, be content with less than heretofore.

"Looking at all parts of the payment made to the capitalist in the form of profits, I conclude there is room for a considerable reduction in their rate without weakening the inducements to the abstinence, by which capital is accumulated, or weakening the inducement of risks in the employment of capital, or weakening the inducements to exertion in the management of capital. If the general introduction of a system of dividends to labor should result in the partitioning of something less than twenty, or fifteen, or even ten per cent. of the total profit of labor to the business-managing capitalist for his share, I am confident that the efficiency of the forces taken into account by political economists would not be impaired. The consequence of such a system would simply be, that the minimum measure of the inducements under which capital can be accumulated would be found, and that would be the realization of justice between capital and labor."

For all these results the author looks mainly to the beneficient growth of public sentiment, which will not forever tolerate the hard rapacities of industry as they exist at present. In conclusion he expresses a very emphatic opinion concerning one great feature of the public management, and that is, the custom of loans and the contraction of government debts, for any purpose. Instead of

these he would have taxation, pure, simple and direct, such as would enable the people to feel what their governments should be about to do, and prevent extravagant expenditure. At most, he would give Congress, or the Legislature, power to borrow what should be repaid within *five years*. "To accomplish the abolition of the debt-making power in governments," he says, "would be the greatest victory ever won in the cause of labor." The logic of this is that the wealth of great capitalists, instead of being taken up by the government, would be driven to take the risks of productive employment and be added to the working-capital of the world.

The subject of the relation of capital and labor is the engrossing one of the hour, and we will endeavor to give our views on it in *extenso* in our next issue.

BELLES-LETTRES.

1. *The Bible of Humanity.* 8° pp. 370. By JULES MICHELET. *Translated from the French by* VINCENZO CALFA. New York: J. W. Bouton. 1877.

2. *Hours with John Darby.* 12° pp. 250. By JAMES E. GARRETSON, M. D. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1877.

3. *The Heiress in the Family.* Blue and Gold, 12° pp. 396. By MRS. MACKENZIE DANIEL. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers. 1877.

4. *Norston's Rest.* 12° pp. 441. By MRS. ANNA STEPHENS. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers. 1877.

IN this work the celebrated French historian and critic plays, as it were, a prolonged fantasia on the great mythologies of men, beginning with that of the Aryans, going on through the Persian, the Greek, the Egyptian, the Syrian and the Jewish supernaturalisms, and winding up with the world-woman and the triumph of woman. The matters of which he treats were preëminently the growths of the human fancy, and he has treated them in a very appropriate manner, that is, fancifully, though he tries at the same time to rationalize them. But the superstitions are very rarely

amenable to any sort of logic, and he can only offer a number of extravagant suggestions in keeping with the theme. Indeed, the gravest and most orderly commentators on the mythologies can do no better. Cox, in his Mythology of the Aryan races and Max Müller, of Oxford, (to quote only the most recent writers on these subjects) argue, in their own way, as wildly as Valmiki and Ferdousi did formerly. It is more amusing after all to follow the old stories of the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* or the *Rig Veda*, in the old way. In the pages of the *Ramayana* (only recently translated for the people of the Keltic West) we find the time-honored story of love and battle, subsequently reproduced on the shores of the Bosphorus, at Worms, and at Carleon upon Usk. Rama and his young wife, Sita, walking together in the forest, are separated; and the beautiful and atrocious Ravan, taking advantage of the situation, seizes the lady and carries her off to Lanka. The husband sets out with an army to rescue her, and on his way is joined by the gallant Hanuman, king of the monkeys. Having arrived before Lanka, Hanuman ventures romantically into the Serai of Ravan, finds Sita, encourages her, passes out, leads a "forlorn hope" against the walls and finally brings her into camp safe and sound. Rama falls on the neck of the glorious gorilla, calls him his brother and puts a crown on his head. This behavior seems odd enough. It shows that those ancient Indians could have had no very strong ideas of caste, when they could tolerate or recite such things about a monkey. They certainly had a remarkable respect for the lives of the animals—the dog, the serpent, the parrot, the cow, the horse, the elephant, the gazelle, and the *ourang-outang*. They seem to have had the idea that created things were in the same category; and this, of course, would favor the "evolution" argument of the Darwinian philosophers, who suppose that the Hindoos must have respected those creatures because they had a traditional idea of their remote cousinship.

Passing from India, our author floats over Greece; and his poetic essay, if chanted at Delphi or Olympia long ago, would have taken the "olive-crown." Like all scholars he loves that illustrious little country, and might say with the lyric poet Béranger:

Oui, je fus Grec : Pythagore a raison.

The lively classic reader will, no doubt, be very much at home in the midst of those Attic flights and fancies. Our author next "goes down into Egypt," which he calls a country of "death:" but which seems likely after all to enter upon a new life of historic and social progress; and then he finds himself among the Syrian maidens, weeping for Thammuz. He next discusses Alexander of Macedon, whom he disparages; and then the genius and character of the Jews. "The great and true glory of the Jews," he says, "which they owe to their miseries,

is that they alone among all peoples, have given utterance in a piercing and immortal wail, to the sigh of the slave."

The conclusion of this work is devoted to the fair sex and its old supremacy. The Triumph of Women was "illustrated in the Christian honors paid to the Hebrew Mary, who, in a later age, represented the Isis of ancient Egypt. That antique supremacy of women has been recently discussed by Bachofen, Lubbock, M'Lennan and others, a notice of whose opinions may be found in a preceding article of our *Review—Odd customs in old families*, p. 366; and the subject is certainly a curious one, for many reasons. It may be noted here, that as late as the fourth century of our era, women officiated as priests in the Eastern, or Greek Church; a fact which has been forgotten, very probably, by those Christian ministers who arrogate to themselves the exclusive exercise of sacerdotal functions and set their faces so sternly against the appearance of a lady in the pulpit. It should be also remembered, in this connection, that James, son of Joseph, wrote the *Gospel of Mary*, a book respected by Gregory of Nyssa, Origen, Epiphanius, and other Christian Fathers in high standing. It is a very great mistake to suppose that the influence of woman is only beginning to be recognized in this enlightened nineteenth century. It was recognized in all centuries, among all the races of the world, civilized or savage, and will be again in improved times to come.

The translation of this volume by Signor Calfa is praiseworthy, as the effort of one not born to the manor of our very difficult language. But it has some typographical defects here and there, which a friendly censorship might have prevented.

THE author of *Hours with John Darby* dedicates it to a lady; a fact which predisposed us to like it, fancying it would be something clear, simple, easy of comprehension and consequently attractive to the general reader. But in this we have been somewhat disappointed. The book is not easy reading, but a *pièce de résistance*, and also a "forest of difficulty," through which the conscientious reader must make his way, so to speak, with a hatchet —a rather dangerous weapon to put into the hands of any critic, as one of his implements of office. These *Hours* of our professional brother will probably be found too academic and sententious, too oracular and peremptory for the average mind; reminding people a good deal of the French Michelet, one of the most stenographic, figurative, gesticular and sometimes confusing penman of his nation. The author before us does not condescend to talk to us in the plain style of speech to which we have been accustomed, and through which we can most readily and agreeably discover a writer's meaning. Yet there is meaning in his pages; and men of extensive leisure will discover it—especially in the opening paper "Concerning a Wife," which contains a number of things well

worth reading and remembering. There are also some interesting papers on the subject of *Home*, which is a very taking-title for most people, whether they have homes or not. But as a general rule the sayings of this book seem to have been formulized too affectedly for familiar conversation. A good many of them are rather forced in sentiment, as we take it. For instance: a little boy comes into a room where his mother is lying in her coffin; the author, to console him, tells him she is in heaven, and then bids him to go out to see if he cannot recognize her face among the beautiful clouds. The boy goes out. "I watched the golden curls in the sun, as they fell over his shoulders from a head turned upward to look for God and a mother." Again he advises the heart-broken husband not to look in the cocoon for the butterfly that has departed. But the man still laments. He throws himself upon the grave, exclaiming—"My dear Chrysalis! She is smothering here!" The pathos of these passages seems to have a touch of the grotesque, which tends to spoil it. The singularity of the author is that, while he is very Greek and pagan in his style of philosophy, he is very orthodox in his notions of Christianity—

> A very heathen in his *ethic* part,
> But still a sad good Christian in his heart.

Lest it should be thought we have been too flippant in our notice of *Hours with John Darby*, we make a little extract about "Nooses"—giving the entire of the chapter, to show the authors' customary style of treatment:

NOOSES.

"Flies in webs, and flies out of webs; men in nooses and men out of nooses. Is it not evident to him who has his eyes in his head, and who uses them, that man is the tier and untier of his own knots.

"Can it be said that a noose is a thing in and out of itself? Yet is it not the case that nooses are to be found everywhere? Is not a boy apt to get his first knowledge of them through the heedlessness of some playfellow who causes him the fracture of a leg or arm by a twist, made in the long grass of a hill-side? Are not callous men likely enough to find a last experience of them, together with a broken neck, through a loop which a hangman makes at the end of a bit of rope?

"What then shall Lysias conclude? Is it well for boys that they run downhill with shut eyes? Or for men that they walk over a street on which lives an executioner?"

These questions are disconcerting enough, and we transfer to the gentle reader with pleasure the privilege of replying.

The *Heiress in the Family*, by Mrs. Daniel, is the third volume of Messrs. Petersons' popular *dollar series*, and a very interesting novel it is for light summer reading. The characters in it are finely drawn; the incidents are interesting; the general tone is pure and healthy and there is no lack of taste and good feeling. As a love story it is an undoubted success.

Mrs. Stephen's *Norston's Rest*, also from the house of Messrs. Peterson & Brothers, must be regarded altogether more sensational than the other just mentioned. Written in its author's well-known vivacious style, it is not without interest of a certain sort, and we doubt not, will be as popular and as widely read as any of the author's previous productions.

SCIENCE.

1. *Fruit and Bread. A Scientific Diet.* By GUSTAV SCHLICKEYSEN. Translated from the German by M. L. HOLBROOK, M. D. *With an Appendix.* Illustrated. New York: M. L. Holbrook & Company. 1877.

THIS scientific and genial little book is on a subject as old as the world, yet not likely to grow old in the world—viz., the stomach, that great *motor* of all human progress. "*C'est le petit ventre qui fait mouvoir le monde*," said the first Napoleon at St. Helena; a piece of wisdom leading to the philosophical inference that our *motor* must be rather in a disorderly condition, when we see how that same world is getting along. A reform is evidently necessary; and our author, Herr Schlickeysen, begins with the beginning and advocates a change, which would be among the greatest known in civilization. Accepting the theories of Sylvester Graham and others, he would go still further and abolish the sacred institution of Cookery, just as the teetotallers would abolish the custom of strong and pleasant drinks; and he and they certainly say a number of things well-worthy of general attention. He bases his arguments on the science of Anthropology, which shows that the human stomach resembles that of the anthropoid ape and other frugivorous and granivorous animals; and he asserts that man does not belong to the carnivorous class of the lions and tigers, but was originally intended by nature to be nourished on the simple produce of the earth. He argues, in fact, that men would live best and happiest in the forest, and his logic has at times a tinge of what has been termed *schwarmerei* and German sentiment. But the enthusiasm is in a good cause, and the author's argument is certainly worthy of respect. Beyond a doubt, our people are too much addicted to the meat-superstition, an evil aggravated by our general system of cookery. This last

as a science—and it should take rank with the very first—is only in its infancy, and for the rest, is barbarously practised as a general rule. But the love of dead flesh prepared by fire is deeply rooted in civilized human nature. Those radicals, the Parisians, wishing to increase their food-comforts, turn, not to apples or cereals, but to the horses. Over 5,300 horses and donkeys have been slaughtered during the first half of the present year; against 4,400 for the same period of 1876; and the people are beginning to like that food just as they like absinthe. The logic—questionable in our view—of this carnivorous propensity is that meat is a stimulant, and all men love stimulants, though the action of these in the human system is more or less abnormal, and at the ultimate expense of life. But they argue that this brief unsatisfactory life would be dull and colorless without the stimulants, solid or liquid; and this kind of logic is very powerful. Nevertheless, people of intelligence must recognize that the fruits and cereals are among the best supports of the human system, and admit that the millions of our population would be healthier and better off, if they depended more on that cheapest of all diets, and less on flesh meat, alcohol and even tea and coffee. A thousand instances have been quoted to show that cereals, fruits and vegetables nourish the healthiest bodies and brains, and a thousand more tend to prove that the excessive use of meat encourages the use of strong drink. Dr. Holbrook quotes Dr. J. C. Jackson and Charles O. Groom Napier, who plead strongly for the simpler order of aliment and show how it would be the best remedy in the world against the disease of intemperance—the wet-rot of society.

Altogether, the reader will find room for much wholesome cogitation in this little book, which tends like so many others on the same theme, to the general benefit. They all present a number of truths of which no man of intelligence should be ignorant; and this dietetic iteration will have its effect by degrees on the prejudices of men— *nón vi sed sæpe cadendo*—just as the continual dropping of water wears the stone at last. The truths of science make slow headway in this world, but they have time to back them; and "time," as Sir Matthew Hale says, "is the wisest thing under heaven."

RECEIVED.

We have received the *fourth* volume of *The Analyst*, a monthly periodical devoted to pure and applied mathematics. Its pages bear ample testimony to the genius and industry of its editor and publisher, J. E. Hendricks, A. M., Des Moines, Iowa.

We trust the professor meets with deserved encouragement in his work, for it is the only mathematical journal published in this country, and supplies a want long felt by American mathematicians. We notice that many of our eminent mathematicians have contributed important papers to its columns. The names of professors Hall, Kirkwood, Perkins, P. E. Chase, Hill, Meech, Ficklin, and others, are among its contributors. In the first volume we observe a communication from Prof. Schiaparelli, of Milan, Italy.

NEW MUSIC.

1. *Little German Home Across the Sea.* Song and Chorus. Words and Music by WAGNER. New York: S. T. Gordon & Son.

2. *Nevermore.* Song. Words by the Hon. Mrs. C. K. GIFFORD. Music by WM. HAMILTON. New York: S. T. Gordon & Son.

3. *Crossing the Danube.* Grand March. By JUAN SALSEDO. New York: S. T. Gordon & Son.

4. *Empire State.* Galop. By B. MOLLENHAUER. New York: S. T. Gordon & Son.

ERRATA.

DESPITE a proof-reader of rare critical sagacity and a printer of unexceptionable ability, the fair pages of the *Review* are occasionally marred by errors of type, too serious to be permitted to pass in silence. Mere inadvertencies of spelling and grammar may be left to the critical reader himself to correct; but those of *sense*, in justice to our contributors, we feel it a duty to correct ourselves.

In the article on *The See of Rome*, &c., in July number, for "England" read *Langton*, p. 32; *these* for "three," p. 33; *comments* for "command," p. 41; *Sententiæ Declarationis* for Sentential Declaratis, p. 42.

In the article on General Grant, in this number, read *promise* for "promises," p. 240; insert *not* between "was" and "the," p. 243, 26th line from head; read *Colonel* for "General," p. 241, first line; *Lodi* for "Lode," p. 241, 29th line from head.

☞We regret to say that the article on John Lothrop Motley, and one or two other articles, announced for this number of the *Review*, came to hand too late. They will appear in the January number.

EDUCATIONAL NOTES.

"L'esprit a ses besoins, et peut-être aussi étendus que ceux du corps."—FONTENELLE.

THE new school-year has opened with evident indications of a renewed interest in the schools. If the condition of the higher schools sympathizes with the state of the industries, nothing is more natural than that the interest in education should decline with the decline of business. The experience of the academies and colleges for the past few years accords perfectly with this inference. Many people, who in times of industrial prosperity never stopped, perhaps we should say *stooped*, to count the cost of sending their children away to school, or to complain of the magnitude of a school-bill, or the superfluities in a bill of extras—or the extras in a bill of superfluities—have had to study in these latter days the intricate science of living on a small income, and, in not a few instances, on no income. The latter have been compelled to deny their sons and daughters the benefit of a boarding-school, and either to send them to the public school with the multitude, or to put them to clerkships or trades. The consequence, as before intimated, has been a decline in the number of pupils in many schools of the best repute—as those at Poughkeepsie, "the city of schools." This is a matter of regret; but the evil is not altogether without its compensations. While good schools in some quarters have suffered, many of those less worthy have died for the want of—pupils. Many pupils, too, who were ill at ease in the class room, have, in consequence of the monetary stringency, been put to trades or business, in which they will be better educated than they could be in schools.

Moreover, many schools which surely could give no *raison d'être*, if summoned to do so, survive the hard times and even seem to *enjoy* a remarkable degree of prosperity. Their principals are men and women of enterprise, and know well the art of keeping their classes full. "L'or même," says Boileau, "à la laideur donne un teint de beauté."* And so it is with the institutions of which we are speaking. Money has been spent with good effect on the externals, to create those things that please the eye and charm the sense of the pupil and patron. The quarters are comfortable, if not elegant; the rooms spacious, well-furnished and airy; the site is beautiful and commanding; the grounds are handsomely laid out and picturesque. Besides, there are woods for trapping, and lakes and streams for fishing, and Saturdays, once in seven days, for excursions! There is no mention,

* *Sat.* VIII, 209.

be it observed, of excursions for the study of botany, or natural history. These attractions are duly set forth in tinted catalogues—often in bad grammar—and advertised in the daily papers, with the effect of securing an overflowing number of pupils.

Far be it from our intention to cast any reflections on school comforts, wholesome quarters, cheerful recreations and environments. All this is not only proper, but desirable. But let them be secondary and subservient to something better in the curriculum of school and college life. Our criticism is rather directed against institutions in which these things are primary, and made use of as the chief means of success, in—securing pupils, and in which education is altogether a secondary consideration. We respectfully suggest that schools of this character, many of which exist in our midst, should change their names, and cease to be a reproach to the name of "boarding-school." It is an obvious abuse of the term to call them schools at all. At the risk of being thought presumptuous, we suggest a few becoming titles for them. One class of them, for example, might appropriately be called after the French, "*L'Ecole de l'art*"—the art consisting of lessons in cards, chess, arithmetical curiosities, legerdemain, caricaturing, pantomime, the art of pleasing, address, etc.

Another class might be designated, "Institute of Amusement; a school for both sexes." This school would embrace studies in the black-art, poker, cribbage, rifle and pistol practice, top-spinning and marble-playing for little boys and girls, etc.,—music and dancing. The text books need not be extensive. A few modern novels of the sensational sort, and the works of Mark Twain would do. For still another class of these popular "schools" we suggest "Academy of Physical Culture" as not inappropriate. That designation has a grand twang in it, and is altogether "taking." Here, too, books would not be needed. The institution would teach the manly art of climbing smooth poles; walking on the hands with the feet in the air; attitudinizing; standing on the head; turning somersaults and performing other like monkeyisms; balancing oneself on a pole, or a pole on oneself; playing ball, fishing, trapping, dancing, racing, rowing, etc., etc. Some institutions which offer these inducements to pupils, have had, and are having a great "success." But is it not a queer way of converting or transforming a frolicsome boy into a sober, earnest man?

Some of these practices are creeping into many of our *bona fide* institutions of learning, with the effect to obscure or divert the mind of a pupil from the real end and object of school-life. It is an evil against which we herein record an earnest protest. It has become no uncommon thing to see games advertised among the advantages of boarding-schools of fair repute; and one of these schools for boys which has come to our knowledge, advertises excursions, fishing, and trapping among its advantages. These attractions, together with the formation of rifle teams and ball matches, are gotten up and resorted to, in order to secure pupils in the first place, and to keep

them contented in the second place. Indeed, it is not uncommon now-a-days for boys to return from school with teeth broken or knocked out by a misdirected ball-club; broken or sprained fingers, lame joints, bruised and scarred sinews, resulting from base-ball contests. One wonders where all this thing is going to end. Parents cannot but feel nervous over the fate of their children when away to school, where these practices and results are indulged and obtained.

We insist that these school pastimes are evils of a character too serious to be passed lightly over. It will be said that they have their compensations in developing the physique of their participants. This would undoubtedly be true were they practised with moderation and made an adjunct to study—means to an end, instead of being, as they too often are, the end itself. In general, we believe that all sensible parents send their children to school to study books and to be instructed in philosophy and the arts and sciences, with the view of having them fitted to perform well their part on the stage of life. These studies have their own peculiar delights, which are sufficient of themselves, it is believed, to occupy the time and absorb the attention of any youth with an ordinary taste for learning. They do not require to be sandwiched between excursions and trapping, or mixed up with nonsense and alternated with placebos, as one takes a nauseating dose, to make them interesting or attractive. And a preceptor who fails to secure the interest of a pupil in the subject taught is either at fault himself, or his pupil is. If the former, a conscience sufficiently enlightened would compel him to change his vocation; if the latter, a sufficient regard for the requirements of duty would lead the preceptor to advise the withdrawal of the pupils; for those who need any incentive for study and scholastic discipline other than the love of them have no business in an institution of learning at all. The place of such pupils is rather in some calling of useful industry, on the farm, in the work-shop, office, or trade-mart. There would be some slight hope of a pupil too dull to be moved by study, brought thus face to face with the stern necessity of earning his own bread—and water,—while there would be absolutely none if he were kept in school and permitted to idle away his time with a mere pretense at study.

***The experiment of co-education, which Cornell University has the honor of inaugurating, may be regarded as a success. The young lady students are said to show greater proficiency in their studies than their brother students, and naturally maintain a better relation with the Faculty. "But it is a matter of justice" to the stronger sex, says a correspondent in a interesting letter to the *New York Tribune*, "to say that there are a few reasons why the young ladies should excel here that are usually overlooked in describing their high degree of scholarship. These are: (1) They have less to do than the young men, not being compelled to take either 'drill' or its substitute, and every time a student drills he loses a

whole afternoon; (2) they are 'picked,' so to speak, to a far greater extent than the gentlemen; (3) they have the advantage of greater age, since, until this year, they have never been admitted until they were 18 years of age, while the gentlemen are, and always have been, at 16; (4) it is loudly whispered that some of the professors are partial to them as a class. It is at least natural that they should have a warm interest in the young ladies' progress." The writer adds that the young ladies at the University "rise when they wish and go to bed when they wish, eat what and as much as they wish, study as much and when they wish, and in fact in all things do about as they like. They are even allowed to receive gentlemen callers who do not bring letters from 'papa,' and that, too, without the presence of a matron. In fact, they are assumed to be just what they are—women who are not idiots, and who are capable of judging for themselves."

*** The system of elective studies is, we are glad to see, growing in popular favor. President Capen, of Tuft's College, in his Annual Report on the condition of that institution, says of it:

"The more general recognition of the elective system in doing the work of the college is a forward step. It meets with approval in every quarter. The students like it because it not only enables them to pursue with especial profits studies to which they are attracted by inclination and capacity, but because it saves them from wasting their energies upon departments in which they can make no very marked progress. The quality of instruction is improved by breaking up the classes into small sections and bringing the men directly and constantly under the influence of the instructor. The work of teaching is materially increased by multiplying the hours of recitation, but the instructor is compensated by the enthusiasm which men naturally feel when they are working in lines which they have selected for themselves."

*** Manhattan College, under the auspices of the Christian Brothers, seems to be enjoying an unusual degree of prosperity. The proficiency exhibited by its classes at the late examinations and Commencement exercises speaks well for the little band of earnest workers who have them in immediate charge. The Manhattan is the leading Catholic educational institution of this country, and an honor to the cause to which it is devoted—Education. Institutions calling themselves Protestant, or non-sectarian, may well look to their laurels in view of the creditable achievements of pronounced Catholic Colleges like Manhattan, Rockhill, (Md.), and St. Francis Xavier, (N. Y.) Apart from the religious exercises, by no means too rigorously enjoined, no one would presume the Manhattan to be a sectarian institution. Nor is it sectarian in those things which pertain to the acquisition of knowledge, and good scholarship. The late Dr. Sears, a pronounced heretic, taught the classics there several years, and was cordially welcomed. The friendly relation which subsisted between the managers of Manhattan College and himself reflects credit on them both; and the latter desired most of all to make it perpetual, to his honor be it said.

*** The *Saturday Review* evidently does not hold some of the American Universities in high esteem. In its issue of June 5, 1877, it says with more

or less justice that "there are in the United States institutions without number, of more or less importance and promise, styling themselves Universities, and on which ultra-democratic legislatures have showered with a lavish hand powers of conferring degrees in all the departments of human knowledge. But there are as yet only two which their European compeers would fully recognize as Universities, Harvard and Yale."

*** The Juvenile High School, of Brooklyn, a graded school for boys under twelve years, Misses Dobbin & Rogers, Principals, continues to maintain its high character. The institution entered upon its twenty-fourth year in April last. Its classes have thinned somewhat from business depression and the increased efficiency of the public schools, but they are still pretty well sustained. Few teachers possess rarer tact in managing boys than these estimable ladies; few there are, to whom so many young men owe careers of usefulness. We rate them among the best of instructors, and the most useful of women.

*** The academies and collegiate institutes of Poughkeepsie, that city which has enjoyed so long the deserved distinction of "The City of Schools," are said to be less prosperous than usual. Even the classes at Professor Bisbee's finely appointed school for boys are not full. But the preparatory schools there for young ladies fare much worse, owing, doubtless, to the superior attractions offered at Vassar. This is not altogether as it should be. Institutions for young ladies like the Poughkeepsie Female Academy, Rev. D. G. Wright, A. M., Rector; and for boys, like River View Academy, Professor Otis Bisbee, Principal, should have full classes. If they do not have them, it must be from causes other than the lack of appreciation by their friends and the public.

*** Portchester Military and Collegiate Institute, O. W. Starr, A. M., Principal, has entered upon its fifth year with very favorable prospects. The Portchester is a small institution, having room for only twenty-five boys; and its wholesome fare and quarters, judicious discipline, and easy access from New York and Brooklyn ought to secure for it full classes and a steady growth.

*** Brown University has the distinction of having had at the close of its last term, a negro as class-day orator—one Inman Edward Page. Her students have the still greater distinction of treating the young man of color in all respects as one of themselves. This reflects high honor upon all concerned.

*** In mentioning Jane Grey School in the last number of the *Review*, the name of the Principal, J. Lindley, A. M., was inadvertently prefixed with *Rev.* That gentleman disclaims the honor of Rev., preferring rather to be known as Mr., and a teacher of logic, in which study we are informed he has no superior in western New York.

LIFE-INSURANCE NOTES.

THE space at our disposal in the present number of the *Review* is insufficient to give our readers any adequate idea of the present status of life-insurance. There are some indications of an improvement in certain quarters, both in the conduct of the companies and in the public confidence in it. The last quarter has been crowded, as usual, with suspicious revelations, and it is too much to hope that the worst has yet been divulged. Indeed, when we reflect on the situation, the relation of Life-Insurance companies to their policy-holders, and the almost insuperable difficulties with which the latter have to contend in taking the initiative for their rights, or to protect themselves against fraud, the wonder is that so much rascality is uncovered as there is. "What is everybody's business is nobody's business." If defrauded policy-holders could act in their own defence in concert, as one man, combining both purpose and means, the officials of some of these defunct companies would long since have been sent to states-prison, and those of many other companies, whom we could name, and who are now paying heavily for "puffs" to a subsidized press, in their endeavor to regain and keep public confidence, would speedily be sent in the same direction to the same repository for convicted swindlers, if, indeed, there were enough of such places to hold them. We repeat that it is owing to the want of organization among the insured, preventing effective action on their part, that many of the life-insurance officials are able to screen themselves, conceal their crimes and hold up their heads among their neighbors and friends. One official of the defunct Security Life, for example, whom we happen personally to know, and who is under indictment for purjury, for swearing to returns of his company which he knew to be false, has not materially changed his style of living, except in keeping fewer horses. He walks or drives abroad in open day among his neighbors as if he had done nothing of which to be ashamed! For this display of "cheek" on his part, and on the part of others in like circumstances, we hold the public largely responsible. It indicates a debauched public sentiment when high-handed rogues, elegant thieves and swindlers like them, can appear in public without drawing down upon them some decided expression of the public's censure and disapprobation. So, while at present we have nothing to record but disgraceful proceedings in respect of defunct and fraudulent Life companies, we hope in the near future to be able to present something better—more satisfactory to the insurer and the insured; for in truth we believe that life-insurance, *properly* conducted—that is to say, *honestly* conducted—which is to say, *economically* conducted,

by which we mean conducted in *the interest of the insured*, and not in the interest of the company's officers—to be the greatest blessing under heaven.

*** THE few assets rescued from the wreck of the Continental Life appear to stand every chance of being swallowed up by legal sharks and advisers. $40,539.00 were paid for legal expenses under and prior to Receiver Anderson's administration. Mr. Grace and his legal friends were paid $40,000.00. Mr. O'Neill, the present Receiver, finds himself confronted with a bill for legal services, presented by a Mr. Raphael J. Mores, which contains about 280 items, and whose charges average $100.00 per decade, besides a special charge of $1,000.00 for additional time consumed, and interruptions by reporters, policy-holders and letters, and for *enemies incurred by charges made against men still powerful in the community;* besides $50.00 for time of clerks, $100.00 for *making out the bill*, and $615.00 for examining stenographers' minutes! There are other unpaid bills amounting to $30,000.00. What after all this will remain to the unfortunate policy-holders? Not only are the guilty parties permitted to go unpunished, but the little that remains for the victims is allowed to be frittered away in useless legal squabbles.

*** In all these transactions between the Guardian, the North America and the Universal, Furber appears as the one master-spirit; the ingenious juggler who speeds the assets from hand to hand with a celerity almost magical, taking care to leave always a handsome surplus in his own pocket. It is the story of the Charter Oak Life intensified. As Vice-President of the Universal he made the contract with the Guardian, and then made with the Universal his own private contract, whereby it was to pay to him a commission of ten per cent. on all premiums received from the Guardian, and in addition a sum equal to twenty per cent. of the reserve on all policies which might become void for non-payment of premium or interest. These payments were guaranteed to amount to $8,000.00 per month until $330,000.00, and interest, should be paid. *This arrangement was not to interfere with Furber's rights under any other contract with the Universal.* This contract went through a variety of transmutations and assignments, the main object of which appears to have been to enable the Guardian to report a surplus above its liabilities; but the substantial result was the receipt by Furber of $321,428.11 commissions, besides receipts of over $60,000.00, each, by Bewly & Montague.

*** But we are not yet done with the "Hon." Mr. Furber. As early as 1867 he entered into the service of the Universal for nine years, to manage the agency department of the company at a salary of $5,000 per annum and a net profit of 2½ per cent. upon the net premiums of the company. In 1874 he received an advance of $120,000.00 which he was credited with having paid in cash by a deposit in the Commercial Warehouse Company, which immediately loaned it to the Universal who deposited

it on its books as "Guardian stock." This was probably the way in which he obtained the control of the Guardian. He loans the retiring Vice-President $7,500.00 and charges it to the Guardian; and gives to the retiring President $23,000.00 in railroad bonds, charging that likewise to the Guardian. As President of the North America he repays a loan of $130,000.00 obtained from the Universal by charging the same to the North America. In the same capacity he makes contracts with his brother-in-law and with the family of the ex-President, by which hundreds of thousands of the funds belonging to policy-holders are manipulated out of the way. Finally, just as the nine years term is about to expire, the Universal, having no further occasion for his services, goes up like a sky-rocket. Does not this recall some of the unearthly facts commemorated in ancient legend?

*** It is somewhat surprising that, after all, the Charter Oak Life, should have managed to tide over its difficulties. Its strongest claim to public confidence lies perhaps in the prompt manner in which it has contrived to rid itself of Furber & Co. In July, its affairs were considered hopeless: its liabilities far exceeded its assets; and it was enjoined from all further transaction of business. Among other discoveries it was said that on the old board's retirement $1,000,000.00 worth of premium notes had disappeared bodily, and no entries could be found in any of the books prior to May 1st, 1876. By degrees, however, the injunction was modified; the old management was completely overthrown, and the company reorganized. This was at a time when on the most favorable showing, the assets of the company by no means equalled its liabilities. The examining committee reported as "good," assets amounting to $9,266,099.96, and as "uncertain" $3,864,472.34, while the liabilities were shown to be $13,362,577.61 — that is four million in excess of the *good* assets, and one million above the assets of every kind. On July 30th, the injunction was finally vacated, and the motion for a receiver withdrawn. It remains yet to be seen what confidence the company under its new management will command in other States. In Chicago it has been refused admission altogether.

*** The West has likewise its quota of disgraceful exposures. The Protection Life of Chicago has fallen into difficulties, and been found from the first to have done business on an imaginary capital — cheques given for stock subscriptions, and then replaced by mortgages on swamp lots, wild-lands and other worthless securities. It collected assessments from policy-holders to pay fictitious losses: and ante-dates its real losses so as to compel contribution from holders of subsequent policies. A more villainous scheme was never exposed. In St. Louis, three life companies have proved insolvent, the Missouri Mutual, Atlas and De Soto. How long is all this to last? Experience has shown that warnings are unheeded. But are the guilty parties to go unwhipped of justice? We hear of eight or ten officials who have been formally indicted, and yet no steps taken to punish them

for the misery they have occasioned. Other officials, equally guilty and still more shamefully defiant, walk abroad in open day without apparently the smallest dread of consequences. We call upon the authorities to use the power committed to them for the protection of society — and to let these evil-doers learn for once the truth of the saying "He beareth not the sword in vain."

*** The American Popular Life still continues to assert its solvency, and this in the face of the damning facts that $40,000.00 worth of old death-claims have been found by the Receiver, of which it had made no record; and that its unpaid losses, returned at $36,660.00, have been already reckoned up to $107,000.00, and that there are "still more to follow;" that instead of $84,475.19, the "cash in hand" reported, there have been found only $9,800.00; and that the total assets, reported at $588,702.58, were in fact only $183,645.01, of which $15,500.00 were doubtful. The latest discovery made is that in one year the company returned its loans at $9,600.00 and its "interest due on loans" at $6,000.00; in other words the interest due amounted to nearly two-thirds of the principal.

*** Had the lamented P. P. Bliss been on hand at the time of the investigations into the affairs of these various companies, he might have added, with good effect, a verse to one of his popular hymns:

"Have you treed a fraud or two?
Still there's more to follow.
'Cash in hand' not paid nor due?
Still there's more to follow.
'Bonds' for which you search in vain?
'Premium notes' all hollow?
'Mortgage'—castles built in Spain?
Still, there's more to follow."

(Emphatic chorus of exasperated policy-holders.)

"More and more! More and more!
Always more to follow!
Oh, the reckless, shameless frauds!
Still, there's more to follow."

*** It is said that two of the stockholders of the Newark Mutual Life, who are alleged to have received a bonus of fifty per cent. on their stock, were sitting on the Grand Jury which is now engaged in an investigation of the case. How is that for New Jersey justice?

Index to the National Quarterly Review.

Second Series, Volume I.

Analyst, the, noticed, 403.

Bible of Humanity, the, reviewed, 398.

Conflict between labor and capital, reviewed, 393.

Dictionary, Worcester's, reviewed, 382—Lippincott's "Pronouncing, of Biography and Mythology," reviewed, 387.

Errata, 404.

First and True Love, noticed, 200.

Fruit and Bread, reviewed, 402.

German Novels and Novelists, article on, part 1, 83-104—part 2, 284-312—modern school of German romance, 84—Goethe, *ib.*—"Comic air o'er serious scenes," 85—German lack of true humor, 86—landscape painting (descriptive) good, 87—personal description, defective, 87—effort to extend a spirit of toleration, 91—susceptibility of the Germans to music, 92—chief characters in Spielhagen's "Problematische Naturen" and "Durch Nacht Zum Licht," 93—criticism of "Was die Schwalbe sang," 98—Auerbach's "Barfüssele," 100—German customs, 101—Auerbach and Spielhagen compared, 284—"On the Heights," leading characters in, 285—Specimens of German "folk-wisdom," 288—Marlitt's "Haideprinzesschen," 289—opening scene in, 289—Ernst Werner's "Ein Held der Feder," 296—its principal characters, 297—mental influence of German scenery, 298—"Venita," 302—principal characters in, *ib.*—"Ein arzt der Seele," 307—characters described, *ib.*—inconsistency of the author, 308—the book as a work of art, 310—false impressions of the book, *ib.*—woman, her position in Germany, 309—general estimate of German novelists, 311.

Grant, General U. S., the civil and military administration of, article on, 213-255—Washington's example, 213—no further demand for the services of ex-President Grant, 214—Capt. Badeau's *Military History*, criticised, *ib.*—power of the press, 216—General Grant's rise due to political intrigues, *ib.*—general McClellan, 218—report of Grant's concluding operations, criticised, 219—significance of suppressing his losses, *ib.*—losses of men under McClellan and Grant, compared, 220—plan of operations in Virginia in 1864, a failure, 222—"fight it out on that line, etc.," abandoned, 224—General Grant's inaction before Richmond, 226—General Lee, 227—the effect of General Sherman's march to the sea, on, 228—Grant's "luck" not continuous, 229—Generals Halleck, Smith and Sherman deserve the credit of the movement into Tennessee, *ib.*—his failures at Vicksburg, 230—his final success there an accident, due to Admiral Porter, 232—General Grant's reticence, 234—Lord Lytton quoted, *ib.*—indifference to military books, 235—tribute to General G. H. Thomas, 236—the greatness of men shown in early life, 241—Grant's standing at West Point, 243—examples of his military incapacity, 244—his "non-manœuvering system," 246—as President, 247—his former experiments in civil life, 248—selection of his Cabinet, 249—"Nepotism," 250—dishonesty and corruption, 251—great soldiers successful in civil office, 253—historical examples cited, *ib.*—General Grant's weakness exposed by his civil administration, 254—his career not without a parallel, *ib.*

Heiress in the Family, the, noticed, 401.

Hours with John Darby, criticised, 400.

Influence of Caste on Western Europe, the, article on, 206-283—Russia's patriarchal system, replaced by the feudal, 257—nobility, growth of, 258—slavery founded by Godounof, *ib.*—perpetuated by Peter the Great, 289—feudal grants in England, 260—statistics of land-ownership, *ib.*—of Scotland, 261—the *Spectator* controverted, 262—Harriet Martineau on property, 263—social distinctions, 264—Hallam cited on, *ib.*—French scale of rank, *ib.*—Laurière cited, *ib.*—the laborer's position in 14th and 15th century, 265—early legislation on the subject of labor in England, *ib.*—modern classes in Russia, 266—M. Leroy Beaulieu cited, *ib.*—wages in England from 1350-1496, 270—prices of food, and value of money, *ib.*—wages in Europe to-day, 271—Leon Levi cited, *ib.*—Albert S. Bolles quoted, *ib.*—Wages in France, *ib.*—compared to U. S., *ib.*—the evils of aristocracy, 272—pauperism caused by it, 273—statutes against, *ib.*—pauperism, relation of, to crime, 275—crime during the reign of Henry VIII, 276—L. Owen Pike cited, *ib.*—Sir George Nichol cited and criticised, 277—the course of society illustrated by greed in animals, 278—immorality caused by, *ib.*—Robert Dale Owen cited, 279—"Ecce Homo," *ib.*—the effect of poverty on the mind, 280—Statistics of pauperism, 281—in France, Italy, Belgium, Spain and Flanders, *ib.*—in Turkey, *ib.*—relief, from whence, 282.

Life-Insurance, notes on, 208-212, 410-413—policy-holder, letter from, 203—legislation controlled by insurance companies, 209—Atlantic Mutual Life, failure of, no fraud involved, *ib.*—United States Life, 210—New York Life, *ib.*—disgraceful proceedings of the Universal Life, 211—Guardian Mutual, *ib.*—The helpless condition of policy-holders, 410—Shamelessness of officials of defunct companies, *ib.*—responsibility of the public for, *ib.*—Continental Life's assets, 411—The master-spirit of fraud, *ib.*—resurrection of the Charter Oak Life, 412—life-insurance frauds in the west, *ib.*—New Jersey justice, specimen of, *ib.*

Manual of Bandaging, A, noticed, 189.

Martineau, Harriet, article on, 341-366—autobiography of, the, 341—motives for writing it, 342—Miss Martineau's early career, 343—her character in childhood, *ib.*—education, *ib.*—literary ambition, 344—first literary effort, 345—political economy series, the, *ib.*—experience in getting a publisher for, *ib.*—despair and triumph, 347—timeliness of her under-

takings, *ib.*—forecaste of her mind, the, *ib.*—rapacity of publishers, the, 350—Miss Martineau's capacity for work, 351—her remarkable industry, *ib.*—hours of work, 352—her independence, 353—loyalty to duty, 354—habit of free-handed criticism, *ib.*—literary and personal judgments, *ib.*—Lord Macaulay, of, *ib.*—Stanley, bishop, of, 345—professor and Lady Lyell, of, 346—Johanna Baillie, Lady Morgan, Mrs. Wolstonecraft, Margaret Fuller and others, of, *ib.*—admiration of Carlyle, *ib.*—contempt for vain men, 345—and silly women, *ib.*—just estimate of Everett, Clay, Webster and Calhoun, 358—ill-health, 360—*The hour and the man*, when written, *ib.*—mesmerism, her cure by, 361—her home at Ambleside, *ib.*—waiting for death, *ib.*—her religious and philosophical views, 362—knowledge of Deity, impossible, *ib.*—the love of philosophy, contentment in, 363—type of the intellectual life, a, *ib.*—reflections of the writer, 364—appreciation of divine or spiritual truth, how influenced, 365—superiority of organization over the, *ib.*—science of mental physiology, the need of, *ib.*—no certainty of "revealed" truth, in the absence of, 366.

Music, new, 404.

My Son's Wife, noticed, 200.

Natural and supernatural, article on, 55-82—mistaken notions of Providence, 55—relation of Providence to Deity, *ib.*—tendency of credulity, 56—all strange phenomena referred to interposition of Deity, 57—degrading notions of divinity, *ib.*—Cardinal McCloskey criticised, *ib.*—Dr. Bronson cited, 58—absurdities of the pietists, *ib.*—misguided prayers, 59—the love of the miraculous, *ib.*—Mill, J. S., cited, *ib.*—Roman Catholic credulity, *ib.*—Protestant absurdities, 60—special Providences, belief in, 61—evil not necessary to virtue, 63—De Tocqueville cited, *ib.*—the universality of the natural, 65—the subject illustrated by the growth of vegetation, *ib.*—chemical affinity, 67—the phenomena of crystallization, *ib.*—correlation of force, *ib.*—the steam engine, *ib.*—the belief in, a stumbling-block, *ib.*—no longer essential to christianity, 69—Matthew Arnold cited, *ib.*—the prophecy of Christ fulfilled, *ib.*—Dr. Tuke cited, 70—Father Matthew's "miracles," *ib.*—the normal man and the abnormal, contrasted, 76 *et seq.*—disordered fancies too often mistaken for divine truth, 79—the teachings of the normal mind more reliable than those of the abnormal, *ib.*—greater discrimination needed in belief, 80—necessity of verification in spiritual things, 81—revealed truth to be tested by ordinary rules of evidence, *ib.*—Renan cited, 82.

Norton's Rest, noticed, 402.

Odd customs in old families, article on, 366-381—the retrospective tendency of modern thought, 366—evolution, 367—M. Boucher de Perthes' "De l'Industrie Primitive et les Arts, et leur Origine," cited, 367—first appearance of man on the earth, 368—geological and subterranean evidences, *ib.*—marriage customs, 370—some of their ancient peculiarities, 371—their similarity to those of some modern tribes, 372—"Woman-mastery," 373—reasons for it, 374—its change to the supremacy of man, 375—cases of its "survival" till the present day, 376—traces of it in traditions, *ib.*—"La Couvade," 377—reason of the custom as given by eminent men, 377—the author's view of it, *ib.*—"marriage by capture," 378—memorable instances in which woman's supremacy has been perpetuated, 379—queenly women, 380—recognition of Lady de Borgho, *née* Grace O'Malley, 381.

Oriental Christianity, art. on, 313-340—causes leading to the decline of Christianity in its original seat, 314—Christianity, first cultivated by the unlearned, 315—first dissention due to the claims of Jewish and Gentile converts, *ib.*—Nazarene church, its claims to superior sanctity, 316—Adrian levels Jerusalem, and erects on Mt. Zion, Ælia Capitolina, *ib.*—the Ebionites, *ib.*—their teachings still to be found among the Christians of Abyssinia, 317—Lucian, Pliny and Tacitus, cited, *ib.*—second century, 318—distinctions of Primates, Metropolitans and Patriarchs, adopted, *ib.*—Platonists and Pythagoreans, *ib.*—ascetics or eclectics, *ib.*—disputes between the Roman & Oriental churches, 320—Gnostian doctrine, *ib.*—heresy of Montanus, 321—conversion of Constantine, 322—multiplication of monastic orders, *ib.*—Anchorites, 323—rise of Arianism, *ib.*—stronghold of the church, in Constantinople, in fifth century, 324—its high temporal prosperity, 325—union of the divine and human natures in Christ the favorite questions of discussion, *ib.*—Nestorians, Eutychians and Pelagians, 326—the title of Œcumenical assumed by John the Faster, *ib.*—the rise of Mohammed, *ib.*—Monothelites, 327—the Eastern church denounces and the Roman Pontiff advises the worship of images, 328—Irene, *ib.*—Pagan literature preserved in Constantinople during the dark ages, 330—Paulicians, 332—they are massacred, and the survivors join the Saracens—Russia completely converted in the tenth century, 334—Gylas and his subjects, and Hungary added to the faith, *ib.*—the first crusade to recover the holy sephulcre, *ib.*—Oriental Christians do not sympathise in it, *ib.*—the reconquest of Jerusalem, 335—reconciliation, temporary, between the Eastern and Western churches, 336—Constantinople taken by the French and Venetians, *ib.*—appeal of the Eastern church to Rome for aid, 339—fall of Constantinople in 1453—the final blow to Oriental Christianity, 339—deductions from its history, *ib.*

Papacy and the Civil Power, the, reviewed and criticised, 179-184.

Past and present of life-insurance, article on, 135-158—present condition in the United States, 135—a remarkable fact, 138—laws on the subject in 1807, *ib.*—first company established in France in 1820, 139—in England, *ib.*—the first manifestation, *ib.*—in the reign of Queen Anne, 140—Golden age, 141—"bubble companies," *ib.*—re-insurance, 141—Limited Liability Act, 142—first companies in the U. S., *ib.*—result of civil war on, 143—temptations, *ib.*—Southern policies, 144—compromising claims, 145—era of bubble companies, *ib.*—manufacture of assets, "interest due and accrued," "pre-

mium notes and loans," "uncollected and deferred premiums," "cash in bank and office," 146—conditional certificates, 147—Continental, New Jersey Mutual, Hope Mutual, Craftmen's, Hercules and the Commonwealth, 149—bankruptcy of the N. J. Mutual, *ib.*—wrecking schemes, 152—salaries, 153—World Mutual, 154—lessons to be derived from, 155—wise legislation, the only remedy, 157.

Poetical and prose writings of Charles Sprague, noticed, 198.

Property, Proudhon's work on, reviewed, 389.

Public Libraries of the United States, etc., noticed, 185.

Sclavonic races of Europe, the, article on, 105-134—general reflections on, 105—characteristics of, *ib.*—their first appearance in history, 106—origin, 107—early history, 109—early titles, 110—countries peopled by them, 111—manner of extending their domain, 113—Lithuanian's, *ib.*—taste for display, 115—causes of the dismemberment of Poland, 115—Sclavonic elements in Russia, 116—Hungary, 117 conquests by Charlemagne, 118—history of Bohemia and Moravia, *ib.*—Bulgaria, 121—Servia, 124—Bosnia, 126—Montenegro, *ib.*—Bosnia, 128—Servia, 130—Bulgaria, 133—Roumania, 134.

School and educational notes, 201-207, 404-409—general observations on schools, 201 *et seq.*—Home influence, *ib.*—necessity for more earnest training, 202—extras, bills of, 203—Albany Law School, *ib.*—Adam's Academy, 204—history of, *ib.*—Williams College, *ib.*—St. John School, *ib.*—just views of its rector, *ib.*—Sing Sing Academies, 205—flourishing condition of Messrs. Holbrook's and Benjamin & Allen's Schools, *ib.*—Rev. C. M. Selleck's School, *ib.*—Hudson Seminary for Young Ladies, *ib.*—University of London, *ib.*—Jane Gray School, *ib.*—Alexander Institute, 206—friendly criticism of, *ib.*—corporal punishment, *ib.*—Gannett Institute, *ib.*—Packer Institute, *ib.*—Art Education, Industrial, 207—Columbia College, *ib.*—Wesleyan University, *ib.*—St. Mary's Academy, *ib.*—new school-year, opening of, 404—educational interests, *ib.*—prosperity of certain schools, *ib.*—fraudulent character of, *ib.*—necessity of reform, *ib.*—incentives to study, *ib.*—co-education, *ib.*—Cornell University, 407—elective studies, *ib.*—President Capen, cited on, *ib.*—*Saturday Review's* criticism, *ib.*—Manhattan College, *ib.*—Juvenile High School, 408—Portchester Institute, *ib.*—Messrs. Bisbee and Wright, honorable mention of, *ib.*—Brown University, *ib.*—Jane Grey School, a correction, *ib.*

See of Rome and Civil Allegiance, art. on, 1-54—policy of the See toward the British government, 4—temporal sovereignty of the Pope,—its rise and growth, 7—excommunication by Gregory II, of Leo Isaurius, 8—estimate of Gregory II, 9—Gregory III, 9—St. Boniface, 10—dethronement of Childeric by Pope Zacharias, *ib.*—Pope Stephen II anoints Pepin, king of the Francs, 12—Charlemagne, 13—forged documents, "Decretals" and "Donation," 15—theory of temporal sovereignty, 17—"The See," as court of arbitration, 18—Gregory VII, 19—question agitating the German empire of Frederic William, *ib.*—English views, 21—title to throne, of the Pope, unquestioned for 1,000 years, 22—Hildebrand assumes the tiara as Gregory VII, 24—celibacy, the law of, re-enacted, 25—excommunication of Henry IV, (German,) 26—Gregory's ground of belief, 27—Cardinal Lothaire, as Innocent III, 29—questions solved by him, 30—his victory over the French king, Philip Augustus, 31—contest with John of England, 32—twelfth general council, or, the fourth Lateran, 33—extract from third canon, 34—transfer of papal court to Avignon, 35—Boniface VIII, 36—his imprisonment and death, 38—issue of the bull, "Unam Sanctum," 39—extract from, 40—extract from "Sententia Declaratio," of Pius V, 42—Thomas Aquinas, (1227-1274,) 44—enunciation of supremacy of the See of Rome, in temporal affairs, by him, 45—position of English speaking Roman Catholics, on, 47—Roman Catholics opinions of, 49—American Roman Catholic authors cited, 51—Hon. Wm. Gaston and Dr. Kenrick, Archbishop of Baltimore, *ib.*—Hon. Joseph R. Chandler of Phila., 52—English opinion, on, 53—Newman, Dr., on, *ib.*

Silence, (a poem,) criticised, 197.

Six weeks in Norway, noticed, 199.

Talks about labor, reviewed, 396

Travail of Democracy, the, article on, 159-178—the struggle of civilization, 159—the purpose of government, 160—"Felix Holt," cited, 161—Gregg's "Enigmas of Life," controverted, 162—greed the dominant power in society, 163—the proper adjustments of equivalents necessary to liberty, *ib.*—Christendom described, 165—equity necessary to the well-being of all, 167—Dr. F. Lieber cited, 168—ancient and modern democracy compared, 169—the liberty of the individual, *ib*—Aristotle cited, 170—equity the need of the hour, *ib.*—effect of the use of money in elections, 172—the best minds averse to political life, *ib.*—M. de Tocqueville quoted, 173—Carlyle and Dr. F. Lieber quoted, 174—political morality of America compared with that of England in 17th, and France in 18th century, 175—laws already in excess, *ib.*—their administration defective, 176—Montesquieu quoted, *ib.*—honest administration more necessary than laws, *ib.*—Dr. Lieber on the qualifications of office-holders, 177—true road to "Civil service reform," 177-178.

Viking Tales of the North, reviewed, 189.

Fine, line engravings of the late Edward I. Sears, LL. D. are for sale at the office of the *National Quarterly Review*, price, $1 each, post-paid. Address, DAVID A. GORTON & CO., 291 Broadway, New York.

THE NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW.

SECOND SERIES.

CONTENTS OF THE LAST NUMBER:

I. THE SEE OF ROME AND CIVIL ALLEGIANCE.
II. NATURAL AND SUPERNATURAL.
III. GERMAN NOVELS AND NOVELISTS. PART I.
IV. THE SCLAVONIC RACES OF EUROPE.
V. PAST AND PRESENT OF LIFE-INSURANCE.
VI. THE TRAVAIL OF DEMOCRACY.
VII. NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.
VIII. SCHOOL NOTES.
IX. LIFE-INSURANCE NOTES.

CONTENTS OF THE NEXT NUMBER:

I. THE NATIONAL INTEREST AND THE LABOR QUESTION.
II. THE MECÆNAS OF GERMANY.
III. THE RITUAL OF THE ORIENTAL CHURCH.
IV. THE PROGRESS OF MODERN ASTRONOMY.
V. LINGUISTIC STUDIES.
VI. JOHN LOTHROP MOTLEY.
&c., &c., &c.

TO CONTRIBUTORS.

All articles should be received at least a month before the month of publication. Contributions from all parts are equally welcome: they will be accepted or rejected solely according to their merits or demerits, their suitableness or unsuitableness.

FOREIGN POSTAGE.

☞ The maximum Postage on each number of the NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW to the principal countries of Europe is as follows: to England, Ireland, or Scotland, 30 cents; to France, 30 cents; to any of the German States, 30 cents; to Belgium or Holland, 30 cents; to Italy or Switzerland, 30 cents. The subscription to any of these countries is in proportion to the postage—the amount WITHOUT POSTAGE being $5 a year, payable in advance.

☞ Those subscribing directly—not through Agents—would oblige the Editor by letting him know when any number to which they are entitled fails to reach them.

THE

National Quarterly Review.

ESTABLISHED 1860.

A SCIENTIFIC, LITERARY AND CRITICAL JOURNAL; EACH NUMBER CONTAINING OVER 200 PAGES. PUBLISHED IN JULY, OCTOBER, JANUARY AND APRIL.

SECOND SERIES.

EDITED BY

DAVID A. GORTON, M. D.

THE NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW is devoted to general Literature; reviews, criticisms and expositions of Science, History, Philosophy, Biography, the ancient and modern Classics, Ethics, Economic Problems, Public Men and Public Measures, etc. Among its contributors are specialists in every department of science, literature and art.

The REVIEW *is independent in all things and neutral in nothing.*

It is the organ of no man, or sect, or party;

It is the exponent of no exclusive system, school, or philosophy;

It is the friend of no exclusive interests, caste, or class.

On the other hand, it is an advocate of free speech, free institutions, free criticism and good scholarship. While liberal and catholic in sentiment, it is an implacable foe of shams, class interests, monopolies, and injustice in whatever form or guise.

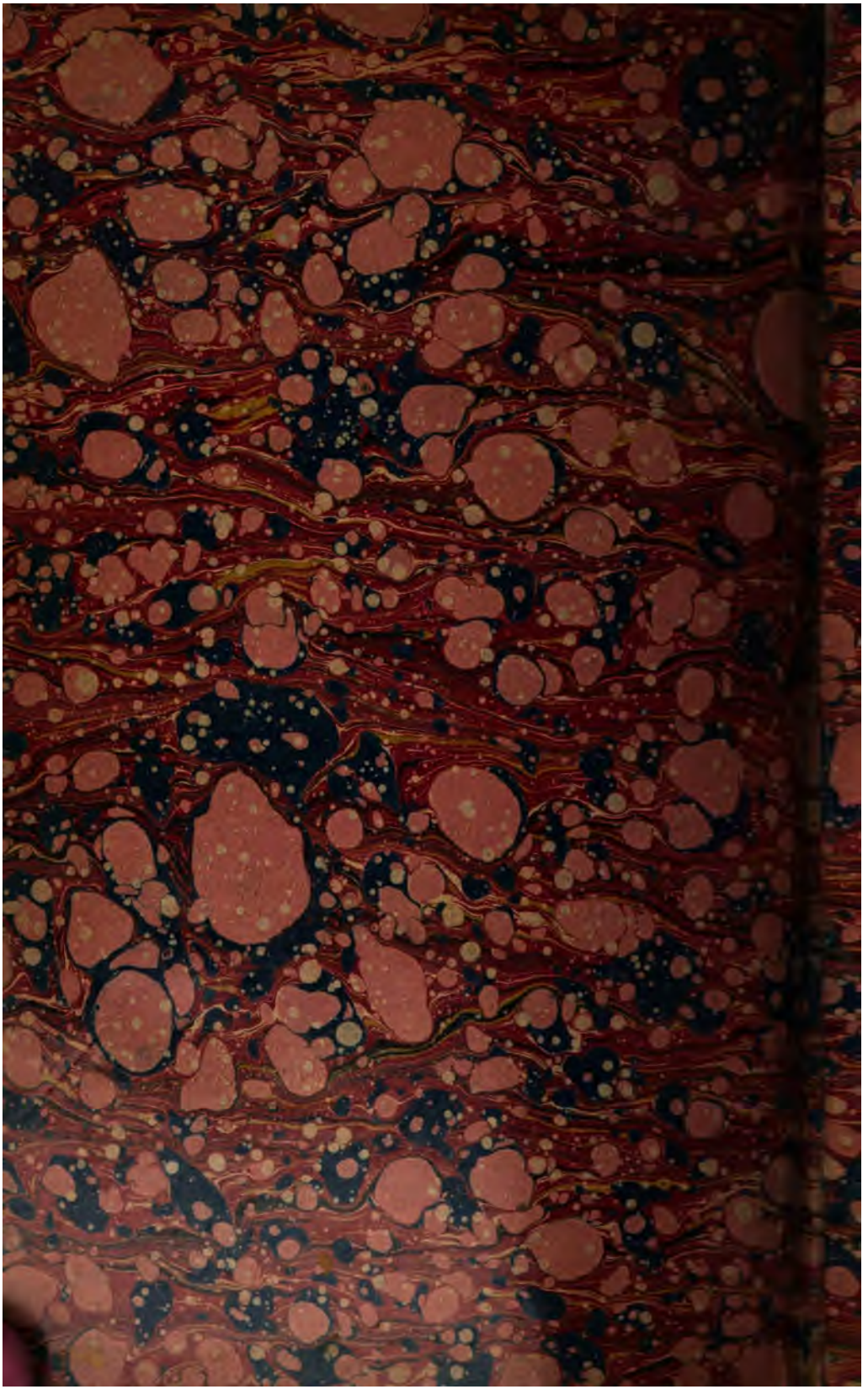
The Publishers, while thankful for past favors, respectfully invite the sympathy and coöperation of Editors and Publishers in their work—the latter by supplying them with new publications; the former by bringing the REVIEW to the notice of their readers, and thus aiding to extend its subscriptions, and to enlarge its usefulness.

Books, Catalogues of Schools and Colleges, Manuscripts, etc., should be addressed to the Editor; all business communications to,

DAVID A. GORTON & CO., Publishers,

No. 291 BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

SEARS & COLE, Printers, 51 and 53 Maiden Lane, New York.



APR 24 1883
MAR 25 188[illegible]
MAY [illegible] 1902
OCT 29 1913

Widener Library
3 2044 092 642 446